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24 Jul Foreign Ministry Briefing Summed Up

LD2407153189 Moscow TASS in English 1457 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 24 TASS—The coming Soviet-Hungarian summit will continue a series of political contacts which were vigorously developing in the recent past, Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, told a briefing here today. Speaking of the working visit to the USSR by Rezso Nyers, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and the party's General Secretary Karoly Grosz, which begins today, Perfilyev said that there are full grounds to believe that the present summit will be substantive and will give additional impetus to the development of bilateral relations.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman called a statement on Cambodia's permanent neutrality adopted by that country's National Assembly an act of great political significance. He described it as a desire to lay a foundation for Cambodia's future peaceful and democratic development.

The spokesman expressed USSR's concern over West German media reports on work conducted in Pakistan to arm American F-16 fighter bombers with Pakistani-made nuclear weapons. Such developments would aggravate the political and strategic situation in South Asia and harm principles and regime of nuclear non-proliferation, he said. At the same time, the spokesman went on to say, the USSR gave the most serious attention to assurances by Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto that Pakistan does not have and does not intend to develop nuclear weapons. The USSR proceeds from the premise that Pakistan's actions will be in line with statements made by its prime minister during official visits to the United States and Britain.

Speaking of the anniversary of U.N. Security Council resolution 598, Perfilyev said that it was a turning point in international efforts to defuse the Iran-Iraq conflict. The document confirmed that broad interaction between U.N. member countries would help the United Nations to settle successfully regional conflicts. The USSR deems it necessary to maintain collective efforts aimed at using fully the arsenal of U.N. diplomatic means.

The briefing was addressed by Vsevolod Oleandrov, head of the division on relations with the USSR Supreme Soviet, recently set yp by the USSR Foreign Ministry. He described guidelines of interaction between the Soviet Foreign Office and the supreme body of state authority. These will be relations of partnership, joint endeavours, trust and mutual understanding, Oleandrov noted.

Perfilyev Commends Cambodian Declaration

LD2407151389 Moscow TASS in English 1412 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 24 TASS—First deputy chief of Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate Vadim Perfilyev described the July 20 declaration on the permanent neutrality of Cambodia as an act of big political significance. Addressing newsmen, he described the declaration as a manifestation of good will by the state of Cambodia, its desire to lay the groundwork for a peaceful and democratic development of the country which has been through the horrors of the Pol Pot genocide regime.

The declaration, Perfilyev said, creates a favourable atmosphere for moving more successfully along the road of the political settlement in Cambodia within the spirit of national consensus and reconciliation. Cambodia's proclamation of the status of a neutral country is within the mainstream of the ASEAN member states' efforts to make South East Asia a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality and, doubtless, accords with the task of fostering good-neighbourly relations and cooperation in the region.

The importance of the declaration of neutrality also lies in its having been made on the eve of the international conference on Cambodia to be held in Paris. Hopes for the solution of a complex regional conflicts in South East Asia are associated with this conference, Perfilyev said.

Assesses Cyprus Talks

LD2407151989 Moscow TASS in English 1436 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 24 TASS—Today as never before it is important that a favourable atmosphere be created around the intercommunal talks in Cyprus, that the two Cypriot sides exercise maximum restraint and political wisdom and seek ways toward a peaceful settlement of the problem on a just and realistic basis, first deputy chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry Vadim Perfilyev said at a briefing today. He made this statement in connection with an incident in Cyprus in which a group of Greek Cypriot women —participants in a protest march against the 15th anniversary of the landing of the Turkish troops in Cyprus—entered in the area of Nicosia the buffer zone separating the Greek and Turkish communities and controlled by the U.N. troops. As a result some of the women were arrested by the Turkish Cypriot police.

The initiative on Cyprus, being pursued by the United Nations secretary general on the basis of the Security Council mandate, and the intercommunal talks in progress between the two Cypriot leaders George Vassiliou and Rauf Denktash with U.N. assistance, Perfilyev said, have now entered quite a responsible and in many ways a decisive stage of agreeing on the main contours of a comprehensive Cyprus settlement.

The Soviet Union cannot help stating its negative attitude to any actions complicating the intercommunal dialogue and objectively hampering the efforts of the United Nations secretary general on Cyprus. In this connection the Soviet Union regards as important the measures being taken at the initiative of the U.N. troops in Cyprus on a military de-confrontation at the dividing "green line", and the steps of the island's public to restore confidence and develop contacts between the two communities in Cyprus, Perfilyev said.

UNESCO Head Comments on Talks With Gorbachev

PM2507082389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jul 89 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Visit by UNESCO Leader"]

[Text] My meeting with M.S. Gorbachev was the most important event of my visit, F. Mayor, UNESCO director general, said at a press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists 19 July at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center. This meeting, the director general continued, has great significance for UNESCO, because it provided an opportunity to gain a deeper understanding of how M.S. Gorbachev views the tasks facing our organization. I fully share and support the Soviet leader's efforts to effect transformations not only in the Soviet Union but at international level, F. Mayor went on to emphasize.

F. Mayor's book, "Tomorrow Is Always Too Late," which has been published in Russian by the Progress Publishing House, was promoted within the framework of the press conference. The book contains his thoughts on the fate of our planet and burning problems of mankind. It was noted that the polemical, original approach to the questions researched gives the book special bite and interest. Through this book I would like to say that we have only one key to the future—solidarity, the author said in conclusion.

On the same day F. Mayor signed two documents: A memorandum on collaboration between the Soviet Union and UNESCO and a protocol on intentions to develop cooperation between the USSR State Committee for Public Education and UNESCO in the sphere of new information technology. On the Soviet side, A.L. Adamishin, USSR deputy foreign minister, and G.A. Yagodin, chairman of a state committee, put their signatures to the respective documents.

In the evening the guest met and talked with the aktiv of the USSR Commission on UNESCO Affairs. He said, in particular, that the organization of which he is head greatly values the participation of the Soviet Union in its work and always looks forward to new initiatives from it.

Further on Shevardnadze-Mayor Meeting

PM2507084489 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jul 89 Second Edition p6

[TASS report: "Meeting in the USSR Foreign Ministry"]

[Text] On 19 July E.A. Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister, had a meeting in the USSR Foreign Ministry with Federico Mayor, director general of UNESCO, who is in Moscow on an official visit.

During their friendly conversation E.A. Shevardnadze said that the Soviet Union is in favor of enhancing UNESCO's authority within the system of modern-day international relations. The desire of the director general to enhance the effectiveness of the organization's work, make it more universal, and introduce greater openness and glasnost to its activity is understandable and dear to us. We are referring, in particular, to measures to establish the priority of common human values, the regrouping of UNESCO guidelines for the use of the latest achievements in science, technology, culture, and education, and the preservation and development of UNESCO's unique intellectual, humanitarian, and ethical mission in the interests of all states, whether they are in north, south, east, or west. The USSR believes that UNESCO can play an extremely valuable role in the humanization of international relations, preservation of the environment, and the gradual building of a nonviolent, nuclear-free world.

F. Mayor talked in detail about the work now being done by UNESCO in the context of determining the strategy of its activity in the nineties and through to the beginning of the thrid millennium and expressed his ideas on specific areas of collaboration between UNESCO and the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union, E.A. Shevardnadze stressed in conclusion, is sincerely interested in broadening cooperation with UNESCO with the participation of all the union republics and all the peoples and nationalities incorporated in the Soviet Union.

The conversation was attended by A.L. Adamishin, chairman of the USSR Commission on UNESCO Affairs, and the members of UNESCO accompanying F. Mayor on his visit to the Soviet Union.

E.A. Shevardnadze and F. Mayor signed an agreement between the Soviet government and UNESCO on setting up and running a UNESCO bureau in the Soviet Union, which it is planned to open in Moscow next year in order to promote the development of cooperation between UNESCO and Soviet scientific, cultural, educational, and other organizations.

Gerasimov Article Criticizes U.S. 'Interference'

18070703 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 18 Jul 89 p 7

[Article by Gennadiy Gerasimov: "Stability as a Condition of Change"]

[Text] At first glance this phrase seems paradoxical. However, let us look more closely at the idea it expresses.

Here we have the U.S. President George Bush visiting Poland and Hungary. At the Karl Marx Economics University in Budapest he disputed Karl Marx, recognizing the irony of the situation and ignoring the difference in the weight categories, and has not even glanced at

Das Kapital. If they so wished, observers could have seen in his trip some agitation work for capitalism, and they would have been right. He himself, however, when answering the question of what he hoped to achieve by his trip, responded with a saying of the comic actor Woody Allen: "Ninety percent of life is just showing up." And that he did: he went jogging in Lazienki Park in Warsaw, donated his coat to an old Magyar lady when it was raining and so forth; anything for the television cameras. And he spoke in favor of free entrepreneurship and he allocated money for it (it is not a good thing to mention the word "capitalism" in polite society).

That is one side.

On the other hand, however, it must be admitted that "command-administrative entrepeneurship" in these countries (and here in our country) is in the stage of being dismantled—by opposing it on the ideological "front" with the fear of "creeping capitalism." But can this decrepit legacy be opposed by the murderous characteristics of the "leapfrog economy" (R. Reagan) or an "astonishing price system that is difficult for anyone to understand" (G. Bush)? But do we not criticize all these evils?

Another question is what to change. The West is suggesting an approved revolution that goes hand in glove with the scientific and technical revolution, although not without the social lameness that is willingly recognized as "the price of democracy."

But we are still not advertising anything; we are still looking.

Such are the specifics of the moment. As G. Bush said at the above-mentioned university, "We are on the threshold of a new era."

And in this transitional period exceptional importance is attached to calm and stability in the military-political situation in Europe, so that we may concentrate on the changes without being distracted. Stability can be assured on the condition of noninterference and rejecting the urge to make us happy, like some boy scout proudly reporting to his leader that he has three times helped an old lady to cross the street. "But why did we have to do it three times?" the leader asks in astonishment. "Because she did not want to cross at all" came the answer from those who have mastered the standards for organizing society.

On this subject, the statement "For a Stable and Secure Europe" issued on 8 July in Bucharest at a meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee says: "No country should dictate the course of events inside another country or claim a role of judge or arbiter."

For his part President George Bush stated in the context of the discussions on aid for Hungary that he was not about to teach the Hungarians "how a cow should eat a cabbage." White House chief of staff John Sununu explained in this way the catch phrase used by the President: "Although we are trying to stimulate progress in the political and economic fields it is not the business of the United States or of any other country in the West to decide the final format of internal structures."

Only this kind of position guarantees stability in the change situation in Europe. President George Bush talked in Budapest about military-political stability, which "we are working day and night" to achieve. But the priority importance of this stability is also mentioned in the document adopted by the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee.

Are they talking the same language in the West and the East, are they using the words and terms in the same way?

Mutual understanding in this matter is of exceptional importance.

USSR Coordinates Antidrug Efforts With West

PM2007131589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Jul 89 Second Edition p 3

[Interview with L. Lozbenko, chief of the USSR Council of Ministers Main Administration for State Customs Control Foreign Relations Department, by P. Timofeyev under the rubric "Topical Interview": "Customs Versus the Drugs Mafia"—date and place unspecified]

[Text] A "brilliant operation," an "unparalleled example in the history of the fight against narcotics"—those were the views of the world's press on the completion of the Soviet-British operation dubbed "Diplomat." Representatives of the two countries, collaborating closely, managed to seize 3.5 tonnes of black resin and hemp with a total value of 10 million pounds sterling.

The scale of narcotics production and smuggling is rising rapidly with every passing year, encompassing more and more countries. This terrible evil can only be conquered together, if all states pool their efforts. The annual session, which ended the other day, of the Customs Cooperation Council—where the fight against drug smuggling was discussed along with other questions—was attended by a delegation from the USSR Council of Ministers Main Administration for State Customs Control in the capacity of observer. After the session there was a meeting between Soviet and U.S. customs officers—the first ever.

"Agreement on Soviet-U.S. cooperation in the fight against drugs was reached during the recent meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan," L. Lozbenko, member of the Soviet delegation and chief of the main administration's Foreign Relations Department, said.

[Timofeyev] Can it be said, in your view, that our country too is "entangled" in the international drug mafia's networks?

[Lozbenko] Fortunately, for the time being the domestic Soviet market is of no interest to the drug mafia dealers. But people are making more and more vigorous attempts to use our territory as a transit stop when carrying drugs from the so-called "Golden Triangle" and "Golden Crescent" to West Europe and North America.

We and the Americans were recently able to see for ourselves how effective cooperation between customs services is. This time, admittedly, it was not a question of drugs. The U.S. customs attache in Bonn sent us the following information: A large amount of allegedly Soviet black caviar had appeared in the States, particularly Miami. The conclusion of Soviet experts showed that this caviar, under a Soviet brand name, had been smuggled into America from a developing country.

We have conducted the most important operations against the drug mafia with our West European partners; we have long developed close cooperation with them.

[Timofeyev] The recent "Diplomat" operation was a sensation in the West. THE SUNDAY EXPRESS newspaper published an article the other day claiming that Soviet customs officers were to come to London to give evidence against those accused of involvement in international drugs smuggling. Is that so?

[Lozbenko] Yes, indeed, a Soviet representative will travel to London to take part in the trial. We do not think that there is anything unusual about it, such trips will be possible in the future too, given closer cooperation with our foreign colleagues. Like other witnesses, our representative will be surrounded by tight security. Trials of the drugs mafia are extremely dangerous affairs. The "Diplomat" operation involved so-called controlled shipments. We monitored a freight container packed with drugs that transited Soviet territory. The British worked side by side with us. The smugglers were arrested in Britain when the recipient of the dangerous cargo was revealed.

[Timofeyev] Today it is impossible to fight smugglers effectively without modern equipment. As far as I am aware, Soviet customs officers lag behind their Western colleagues in this respect....

[Lozbenko] The expansion of our administration's foreign economic relations is aimed, in particular, at bringing our technical hardware up to the West's world standards. We need modern communications and drug-detection equipment. We are now formulating a program for reequipping our service. Time is pressing, the tentacles of the drug mafia are spreading all too rapidly. The changes can be seen by passengers flying in to Moscow this month. At Sheremetyevo-2 a number of technical innovations will make customs inspections considerably easier—in particular, "green" and "red" channels are being set up along the lines of most countries. If you have nothing to declare, you can pass through the "green" channel without filling in any declaration forms.

[Timofeyev] The question of our membership of the Customs Cooperation Council, to which virtually all countries belong, has been raised for many years. Will the Soviet Union be joining this prestigious international organization?

[Lozbenko] The Soviet Union is prepared to join the Customs Cooperation Council. I think this will happen very shortly.

United States & Canada

Solton Views U.S. Military Budget, Nuclear Policy

LD2407190289 Moscow World Service in English 1510 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Text] On Monday, the two houses of the U.S. Congress open debates on the military budget proposed by the Bush administration for the next fiscal year. The draft budget, worth $305 billion, has been considered by congressional committees, where it was not always welcomed. Yuriy Solton has this commentary.

Reports from Washington indicate that the administration is going to stick to its budget targets. On the eve of the debates the President, vice president, and other top officials tried hard to persuade the lawmakers that America must follow through with the nuclear rearmament programs launched under Ronald Reagan. They say the MX and Midgetman intercontinental ballistic missiles must be developed and deployed. A new generation of B-2 strategic bombers must be built and antimissile defenses must be installed in space, and so on.

These calls come at a time when international tensions are relaxing and a Soviet-American INF treaty is being successfully implemented. The two countries are negotiating a 50 percent reduction of their strategic offensive weapons and the Soviet Union is slashing its arms and troops in a unilateral move. In the circumstances the United States could restrain its martial ardor not to provoke the other side to restart nuclear competition. But that apparently is not what Washington wants.

The LOS ANGELES TIMES reported on Sunday that Washington is developing a new strategy of a nuclear war to be waged against the Soviet Union. It cites well-informed sources revealing plans of a massive preventive nuclear strike to let the United States destroy the Soviet command centers and the brain of the Soviet military and political leadership in the early hours of war. This goal, the paper says, will require a new generation of highly destructive weapons, which are already being developed. According to the TIMES the U.S. military command is planning to win a nuclear war, but Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev reached an understanding in principle back in 1985 that a nuclear war cannot be won and should never be fought.

The military programs pushed through the Congress by the administration, and reports of a new strategic doctrine being developed may lead one to wonder what Mr Bush himself thinks of nuclear war. Does he fully subscribe to the view shared by his predecessor with the Soviet leader? According to the Soviet daily PRAVDA, a clear answer here could help to clarify the general intentions of the U.S. administration, and what it thinks about specific issues negotiated with the Soviet Union.

Bogachev on U.S. Plan for 'Stealth' Bomber

LD2407180189 Moscow TASS in English 1732 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 24 TASS—By TASS military news analyst Vladimir Bogachev:

On instructions from the U.S. Administration, the U.S. Strategic Air Command Headquarters in Omaha (Nebraska) have for already a few years been elaborating plans for dealing a "pre-emptive" nuclear strike to Soviet territory.

As the "LOS ANGELES TIMES" newspaper reports citing "well-informed sources", the essence of the U.S. plan, dubbed as "SIOP-7". Consists in using nuclear weapons with greater destructive capacity to destroy Soviet command centres immediately after the start of an armed conflict. The object is to "decapitate" the Soviet military and political leadership. At issue is thus a detailing of the U.S. concept of the first use of nuclear weapons.

Alongside theoretical elaborations on how to wage a nuclear war, the USA is developing new types of weapons to carry out the "SIOP- 7". Among other things, work is in progress on nuclear means capable of piercing well-hardened command centres deep underground.

A special place in the plans for a first nuclear blow is assigned to the U.S. B-2 "Stealth" bomber capable, as its developers would have us believe, of avoiding detection by radar and reaching the target unnoticed. The Pentagon has announced that one of the chief tasks of the plan is to carry out surprise attacks on the other side's mobile missiles. This means that Wasington assigns the "Stealth" bomber the role of a fuse to detonate a nuclear war by dealing the first crippling nuclear blow. The fact is that a blow at mobile missiles may have some chance of success only in the event of a surprise aggression. Following the start of the war, when the other side has taken corresponding measures, it will be very difficult to detect and hit such missiles.

In a bid to justify the development of exorbitantly costly nuclear "Stealth" bombers worth over half a billion dollars apiece, the White House is trying to convince the U.S. taxpayers that renunciation to develop the "invisible plane" will, allegedly, undermine the arms control talks. Washington is thus coming back to its propaganda ploy of "disarming through a prior build-up in the U.S. nuclear might."

The "SIOP-7" plan, the programmes for developing the first-strike "Stealth" bomber and new nuclear charges capable of hitting underground targets, testify to the fact that Washington has not given up its concept of "acceptability and admissibility of nuclear war." One wonders whether the White House's public agreement with the conclusion concerning the impossibility of winning a nuclear war has been sincere?

USSR Navy Seamen Prepare for U.S. Visit

PM2407111589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Jul 89 First Edition p 3

[Correspondent Captain 1st Rank S. Bystrov "Radio Message From on Board the Cruiser 'Marshal Ustinov'": "We Are Off on a Visit"]

[Text] On a large map of the crossing on the bridge of the missile cruiser "Marshal Ustinov" the flagship's small flag has been stuck in the center of the North Atlantic. This is the current location of the detachment of warships sailing to the United States to pay an official friendly visit.

In the language of international relations an exchange of official friendly visits by ships expresses a definite, quite high degree of mutual trust between the countries. Such a thing has happened between the USSR and the United States only in 1975.

...We have long been receiving a weather chart from Norfolk—our destination, the chief U.S. Navy base on the country's Atlantic coast. The forecasts are very accurate and, most importantly, almost always pleasant: Anticyclones seem to be moving aside the bad weather in front of us. Today, too, is an amazingly calm, sunny day. The ocean is almost like a millpond. The water is sapphire-transparent. A light breeze propels endless colonies of Portuguese men-of-war past us. The voice of the navigator's electrician comes over the ship's relay: "Check of maritime wristwatches and clocks built into instruments. Moscow time is 1900, and ship time—wait for it—1200 precisely!" Although still quite far from Norfolk, this is the eighth time we have put our watches back, and we will soon be living on Washington time.

Vice Admiral I. Kasatonov, detachment commander, opens each day of the voyage over the ship's relay. Literally a few sentences: informative and approbatory. The latter is probably particularly valuable on a voyage. Of course, there are always plenty of omissions and shortcomings. They even exist on one of the best ships in the Northern Fleet, which is what the "Marshal Ustinov" is. They exist even in these unusually careful preparations for the visit.

English language lessons organized by Captain 1st Rank A. Yakovlev are carried over the ship's relay four times a day. The sailors take an attentive attitude to them. There will be active contacts with Americans, above all on board ships. As the 1975 experience testified, several tens of thousands of visitors passed through our two ships. At that time the Americans at once firmly established a record for attendance in the practice of our visits. And yet we must not only receive visitors on board the ship but also provide guides, attention, information, and souvenirs.

The cruiser "Marshal Ustinov" alone is carrying 170,000 souvenir books, brochures, and booklets in English. Not one visitor must leave the ships without a small present. The detachment has received thousands of souvenir buttons and T-shirts and hundreds of pennants and caps with the logo of this visit from the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate. The crews have managed to do a very great deal themselves. Using the services of cooperative members, people on board the "Marshal Ustinov" quickly made pennants and buttons up to international standards, as the saying goes. Previously there could have been no question of such operational efficiency. Still less the means. This time the crew took R2,000 from the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League dues kitty. The ship's patrons provided a subsidy of equal value.

The sailors are showing very great interest in information on the country to be visited. Traditional work is being carried out in this area, starting with the detachment commander. Igor Vladimirovich has great experience of numerous visits in various posts ranging from his first shipboard post to his present one. On his appointment last year as first deputy commander of the Northern Fleet he became absorbed at once in diplomatic work too. It is known how many high foreign guests have visited the Northern Fleet recently. That is probably good training. Before the Norfolk news conference, let us say. You know that there is no denying the inventiveness of U.S. journalists in asking questions. And you can no longer get away with streamlined phrases and evasive answers. This is good, difficult, and necessary.

From 0700 through 1200 Vice Adm I. Kasatonov performs the commander's watch on the bridge, sharing it with Captain 2d Rank G. Frunza, the ship's commander, and with Captain 1st Rank V. Veregin, chief of the voyage headquarters and a recent commander of this cruiser. It is to be supposed that this time passes imperceptibly for the detachment commander: He has things to ponder on the eve of the meetings in Norfolk.

Yesterday a group of political workers headed by Rear Admiral A. Selivanov, first deputy chief of the Northern Fleet Political Directorate, boarded the destroyer "Otlichnyy" and the tanker "Genrikh Gasanov." Specific assistance, moral support, and advice for officers, many of whom are still quite young, are very important now. I believe that even the very atmosphere of amicability at such meetings means a lot. Today a group of officers of the voyage headquarters set out from the flagship for the destroyer on a working check. The detachment commander believes that the ability of Capt 1st Rank V. Veregin to systematize, organize, and ensure very complex work will help Captain 2d Rank A. Stasyukevich, the "Otlichnyy's" commander, to elaborate a program of activities for the remaining days.

Yet you can see how many difficulties arise where there should not be any. High organization of the all-around activities of the ship and the fleet is impossible without corresponding schedules. Such specific and exhaustive schedules with regard to visits do not yet exist. And the voyage headquarters and the ship's command have been forced to think out, first, what to do, and then how to do it, frequently relying only on their own experience.

The fact that the "Marshal Ustinov" would be going to the United States was known 6 months ago. But the aforementioned quantity of gift literature was delivered to the ship on the last night along with the perishable food and fresh bread.

The ship has its own internal television system and several portable video recorders, but the existing Navy television studio did not think of providing the visit with informative, working materials. The only visual image of the United States on the ship is a geographic map. But, as sailors say, difficulties are there to be overcome. And if something is wrong, the good weather, the gentle ocean, and the expectation of interesting meetings improve their mood. From morning through evening the cruiser, like the destroyer, is busy making preparations.

Life on board the ships quiets down only toward midnight. The shingly noise of water and the warm yet fresh breath of the ocean waft through my cabin's large porthole. If I look out of the porthole, I see directly beneath it, in strong round containers, the missiles of the cruiser's main complex. The nearest missile head is 2-3 meters away. This proximity is safe, even if there are weapons in the containers. But today there are none on board. The missile cruiser "Marshal Ustinov" is on a goodwill mission.

Visit by U.S. Warships to Sevastopol Planned

PM2507083889 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 20 Jul 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Visit by U.S. Warships"]

[Text] An official Pentagon spokesman informed people at a briefing that three U.S. warships will visit the Soviet port of Sevastopol 4-8 August.

The cruiser "Vulcan," flagship of the U.S. 6th Fleet, along with the cruiser "Thomas S. Gates" and the frigate "Kauffman," with 1,200 seamen and officers on board, will take part in the visit. The aforementioned vessels are based permanently at the Gaeta U.S. Naval Base (Italy) and the Norfolk and Newport Naval Bases on U.S. territory respectively.

The visit by these warships will be in return for the scheduled visit by three Soviet warships to Norfolk Naval Base 21-25 July. This exchange of visits will take place within the framework of the plan for contacts between the USSR and U.S. Armed Forces.

White House Heads Senate 'Pro-Israeli Maneuver'

PM2507084689 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jul 89 Second Edition p 7

[Vitaliy Gan dispatch under the "Correspondent Comments" rubric: "Warning?"]

[Text] Washington, 20 Jul—At almost the last minute the White House succeeded in blocking a pro-Israeli maneuver by the Senate which would have been tantamount to a vote of no confidence in Washington's contacts with the PLO.

The president's entourage in the person of Secretary of State Baker and his deputy Eagleburger have applied considerable efforts to obtain the legislators' agreement to first allow the White House incumbent to set out his arguments.

The conflict that has flared up is outwardly attributed to the pro-Israeli lobby's dissatisfaction owing to the emergent trend toward the broadening of discussions between the United States and the PLO in the quest for a way out of the Near East labyrinth. In response to a certain flexibility in U.S. diplomacy, the largest organization here—the American Israel Public Affairs Committee—has elaborated an amendment, which Senator Helms has submitted to the legislators to examine, which extremely complicates contacts with representatives of the people of Palestine.

There is nothing original about the specific pretext. Although the PLO and its leader Y. 'Arafat have officially renounced and condemned terrorism as a means of struggle, the authors of the amendment insist on the opposite, categorizing as "terrorist" the participants in the discussions with the Palestinian side, including 'Arafat's deputy Salah Khalaf. As a result a ban is envisaged on talks with any PLO members whatsoever until the U.S. President presents the Congress with proof that the representative in question is "not mixed up" in terrorist activity.

Presumably the discord within the Israeli ruling coalition is the real reason for this measure. Under pressure from extremists Israel's Prime Minister Shamir has supplemented his limited palliative plan for elections among the Palestinians on the West Bank and in Gaza with such harsh conditions that elections have in effect been taken off the agenda. These conditions include the cessation of the intifadah, the disfranchisement of Palestinians in East Jerusalem, which was annexed by Tel Aviv, and the creation of new Israeli settlements on the occupied territories. Against this backdrop the appeal by Sharon, minister of trade and industry, to "eliminate" 'Arafat was all the more remarkable.

Tel Aviv's tougher position has activated the pro-Israeli lobbies on Capitol Hill and put the Bush Administration in a difficult position. On the one hand, State Department officials acknowledged that the adoption of the amendment "would be a serious obstacle to our ability to continue the Near East peace process and would ultimately prove detrimental to all sides in the region." On the other, Washington has been forced to reckon with vast Israeli influence in the U.S. corridors of power—Secretary of State Baker has already experienced its force when he tried to criticize Tel Aviv's obstructionism.

According to THE WASHINGTON POST, the unwritten rule which people in Washington have been following since time immemorial and which must not be forgotten says there should be no public disputes with Israel and no expressions of disagreement with its actions or behavior even if it does conflict with U.S. interests. "This policy, combined with $3 billion a year in aid, guarantees Israel's domination in the elaboration of U.S. policy in the Near East." If that is the case the squabble over contacts with the PLO may be seen as a warning to the Bush administration "not to be self-willed."

It is unclear at present how the White House will extricate itself from the current situation—like the Senate, the House of Representatives strongly supports the proposed amendment. One thing alone is perhaps obvious. All attempts to bypass in one way or another the key aspect of the Near Eastern problem—self-determination for the Palestinians—are directly opposed to a settlement.

Commentary Views Bush's Poland, Hungary Visits

OW2307222989 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 15 Jul 89

[Commentary by Shagin, from "Current Events and Commentaries" program; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Listeners: U.S. President Bush has visited two socialist countries—Poland and Hungary. In relation to this, Shagin, a commentator of this station, writes the following:

The visit sends a clear signal on the U.S attitude toward the new process happening in socialist countries. Addressing Karl Marx University in Budapest, President Bush said: It is indeed unimaginable if we compare the two [word indistinct] here. However, this is exactly the reality of modern life. The East and West are engaging in dialogue to improve their relations. We welcome this. The development of relations between the United States and socialist countries will contribute to the healthy development of the international situation.

Before and during his visits, President Bush specifically noted that he would neither interfere in the internal affairs of Poland and Hungary, nor complicate their relations with their allies, especially the Soviet Union. However, his visits have left people with the impression that he failed to resist the lure. His real motives were, perhaps, exposed by his aides and the U.S. press. His aides said that the President regarded his visit as a chance of establishing a base in the East, while the press regarded his visits as a cautious and bold attempt to make the two communist countries deviate from communism and turn to the West. Even the two countries also suspect U.S. motives. Fifty-eight percent of Warsaw residents maintain that the United States intends to use Poland as a pawn in its confrontation with the Soviet Union, according to a poll. A document released by heads of seven European socialist countries who met in Bucharest says: Countries are neither allowed to directly or indirectly interfere with each other, nor are they allowed to direct the process of the internal affairs of another country to ensure stability.

In reply to a question on his view on the democratization process in Poland and Hungary during a news conference held not long ago, Gorbachev said: Each country and people has the right to make free choices. This position guarantees stability for all people, mutual trust, and a happy life.

China

Further Reported on Tian Jiyun's 20 Jul Arrival

PM2507083089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jul 89 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Delegation Arrived"]

[Text] A PRC delegation headed by Tian Jiyun, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo and deputy premier of the PRC State Council, arrived in Moscow 20 July to take part in the work of the fourth session of the Soviet-Chinese Commission for Economic, Trade, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation.

The delegation was met at the airport by Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR council of Ministers, and other officials.

Yu Hongliang, PRC ambassador to the USSR, was among those who welcomed the delegation.

I believe that the current session is a very important event because it is the first session since the recent summit meeting of our countries' leaders and the normalization of relations between China and the USSR, Tian Jiyun told TASS correspondents on his arrival in the Soviet capital. The PRC Government, he said, attaches very great importance to the commission's fourth session. We will not only be looking back at this session but will also be considering new areas and spheres of cooperation and measures to expand our collaboration.

Tian Jiyun expressed the hope that the talks with the Soviet side would be successful.

PRC, USSR Firms Sign Cooperation Accords

OW2307222889 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 23 Jul 89

[Text] The Beijing International Exposition has come to an end. Before it closed, some Soviet and Chinese organizations signed a number of important agreements of cooperation, including the agreement on the construction of a joint venture manufacturing small tractors in the USSR, and a contract under which Chinese experts can use the research results obtained in the Soviet space lab, Peace.

The Soviet-Chinese Commission for Economic, Trade, and Scientific-Technical Cooperation has held its fourth regular session in Moscow to develop Soviet-Chinese relations.

Gorbachev's Remarks on PRC Affairs Reported

OW2407043389 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 6 Jul 89

[From "Current Events and Commentaries" program]

[Text] Dear listeners, Gorbachev's speech at Sorbonne University has become one of the central topics of his visit to France. The first question put to him was his reaction to the incident in China. In answering this question, the Soviet leader pointed out that the reaction of the Soviet Union has a sense of propriety and responsibility. He said: Revolutionary changes are taking place in China. I am interested in all directions of change in China. Of course, the road of reform selected by the Chinese people is not an easy one. Difficulties may emerge on this road and some difficulties have already emerged. There may be some miscalculation and disadvantages and some difficult problems may occur which we do not want to see, but are unavoidable. I say this based on my own experience.

Later, Gorbachev touched on the question of international trust. He said: Without trust, there cannot possibly be consultations and cooperation. We must not interfere in other people's affairs. We cannot offer suggestions. When we were in China and, later, at the Congress of the People's Deputies in the Soviet Union, we advocated that acute problems should be solved through political dialogue. I am convinced that leaders should have dialogues with the people, youth, and intellectuals. This is our stand. We must not interpret it as a suggestion. This is only our idea. The Chinese people may or may not take this into consideration.

Gorbachev said: The Soviet Union's assessment of the situation in China is based on the principle of mutual trust.

Touching on the issue of human rights, the Soviet leader expressed regret over the death of some people. He said: I cannot imagine that you will consider us as people who are not moved by this wound and tragedy.

At the same time, Gorbachev expressed his welcome for the gradual calming down of the situation in China. This atmosphere of calm is conducive to continuing reform and looking for solutions to problems which happened in Tiananmen Square.

USSR-PRC Delegations Hold Business Talks

OW2207212689 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Text] Seypidin, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress [NPC] of China, met the Soviet Ministry of Culture delegation led by Deputy Minister (Silchevskiy) on 21 July. The purpose of the Soviet delegation's visit to China is to hold talks on further developing bilateral ties in the fields of culture and art. During its visit in China, the Soviet delegation will tour the Xiamen Special Economic Zone and Xian City.

(Silchevskiy), leader of the Soviet delegation, already held business talks with Wang Jifu, vice minister of Culture of China.

PRC Limits Number of First-Year Students

PM2407085189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jul 89 p 3

[TASS report: "Quota on Students"]

[Text] In accordance with the decision of the PRC State Education Commission, in the new academic year the country's higher educational establishment will reduce their intake of first-year students by 30,000. XINHUA reports that the number of those admitted to higher educational establishments this year will be 610,000.

The main reason for this decision, XINHUA notes, is that in recent years in China "there has been too rapid a growth in the number of higher educational establishment students while conditions of study remain at their previous level." To this day many of the country's higher educational establishments have not resolved questions of housing and catering and the students' provision with everything necessary for the normal study process. Recently problems have arisen with regard to the placement of higher educational establishment graduates. All this has had an adverse influence on the quality of training of specialists and has also been one of the reasons for the "unstable situation in a number of the PRC's higher educational establishments."

PRC-USSR Railway Talks Begin in Beijing

OW2307093189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] A Soviet railway delegation has begun talks with its Chinese counterpart in Beijing. The two delegations have discussed problems concerning linking railroads of the two countries in a (?friendship) town in the Soviet Union's Kazakhstan and in the (Ala) Mountain Pass in China's Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region.

Amur-Heilongjiang Microwave Communications Open

OW2307211189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 23 Jul 89

[Text] Microwave telecommunications services have been established between China's Heilongjiang Province and the USSR's Amur Oblast.

In the past, these two places could only communicate with one another through the International Telegram and Telephone circuits between Moscow and Beijing.

Last March, China and the Soviet Union signed an agreement on establishing multichannel microwave telecommunications services. By 22 July, three channels had already been commissioned for use. It is expected that 30 more channels will be commissioned for use in the near future.

USSR Researcher Examines Situation in China

OW2407014089 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Following are highlights of an article written by (Ganzalov), director of the Soviet-Chinese Relations Research and Forecast Office of the Far East Research Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, published in a Moscow news weekly.

(Ganzalov) said: It is my job to research into Chinese affairs, and I am in close contact with China all year around. I was particularly saddened by the tragedy which occurred there not long ago. The USSR Congress of People's Deputies clearly expressed the official Soviet reaction to this incident. Obviously, its purpose was to safeguard and strengthen the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations accomplished not long ago. I think that the official attitude was adopted in consideration of reciprocal relations. Not long ago, the Chinese Government treated tragic incidents in the USSR with great caution.

(Ganzalov) wrote: I think that the Soviet stance is not to capitalize on the deteriorating relations between China and the Western nations by dragging the PRC onto its side to harm the interests of the United States and other developed capitalist nations. I believe that it is not in the interest of the USSR and China as well as of world peace and stability to begin their relations by restoring them to the nature of a military and political alliance as in the 1950's.

(Ganzalov) said: Because of the sanctions against China adopted by the United States and other Western nations, China will very likely expand its trade and economic relations with the USSR. However, I think that this is only a natural outcome under the present circumstances, and not a step toward creating some sort of bilateral strategic alliance. I strongly believe that the USSR wants to see China maintain a normal and stable relationship with Western nations. The USSR is paying very close attention to the causes of the Chinese incident and the lesson to be drawn from it. It must suppress unsound information and take advance measures to eliminate its sources because the price of using force to solve problems caused by it later on is too great.

As for the prospects of developments in China in the near future, (Ganzalov) wrote: I feel that the Chinese leadership will continue to implement its policy of reform and opening to the outside world. To do so, it may have to take a series of very complicated and knotty measures such as eliminating corrupt elements in organs, exercising tighter control over population growth, and further scaling down capital construction. One can foresee that China will also adopt a stricter policy in the ideological sphere. In consideration of its prestige, I think the Chinese leadership will not expand its suppressive measures. I do not agree with the analyses by certain Western observers that China is in a state of confrontation, and the view that China is practicing strict dictatorship.

(Ganzalov) said in conclusion: However, I must reiterate that only by eliminating the sources of instability can China have true stability.

Commentary Describes Reforms in USSR, PRC

OW2507030489 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0200 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Nikolayev commentary from the "Current Events and Commentaries" program]

[Text] China's LIAOWANG journal calls for promoting an exchange of experience in the theory and practice of reforms in the Soviet Union and China. Nikolayev, a commentator of this station, has the following comments in this regard:

This work is especially pressing at a time when Sino-Soviet relations have been completely normalized. Although reforms in the Soviet Union and China began at different times, and the historical causes leading to reform in the two countries are not the same, and although the contents of reform in the two countries are different, they still have many things in common. Both countries decide to solve existing economic and social problems in a short period by taking radical measures, to raise their people's practical living standards, and to enhance their international standing. Undoubtedly, these tasks are a complicated one, which cannot be accomplished in a short period of time. In carrying out these difficult tasks, it is unwise, to say the least, to [words indistinct] socialist countries' experience and not to (?strengthen) contacts between them. Of course, we think that reform is the course for our nation's development; however, we shall not impose our reforms on other countries. Gorbachev, during his visit to Beijing, clearly pointed this out.

To exchange experience with China, who has accumulated much experience in economic reform, is beneficial. We should not only exchange experience in how we have made achievements, but also in how we have solved difficult problems and corrected mistakes. I think that now both sides hope that the other side's reforms will continue to develop. [sentence indistinct] There are broad propects for mutually beneficial cooperation and exchanges in the economic field. The Soviet Union and China have done quite a lot in this field in recent years. Currently, the two sides are working to further improve the efficiency of economic and trade cooperation between them. What I wish to point out is that, currently, Soviet experts are seriously analyzing China's economic development policy, and discussing problems concerning setting up joint enterprises, including setting up joint enterprises in [words indistinct] areas in China. As a matter of fact, some joint enterprises have already been set up. We should establish direct ties between concerned localities, factories, and organs of the two countries in order to enable citizens of both to have more contacts and to exchange opinions on solving economic and social problems. A country should decide whether or not to adopt others' experience by considering its domestic conditions. Conditions in two countries may or may not be the same. The most important thing is that both the Soviet Union and China do not regard differences in conditions as an obstruction to exchanging experience in socialist construction. On the contrary, interest in establishing cooperation in this area has become increasingly keen. To a great extent, China's LIAOWANG journal's views on this are the same as those reflected in the Soviet press.

USSR-PRC Relations Based on 'New Thinking'

OW2407054289 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 2 Jul 89

[(Levchev) commentary—from "Current Events and Commentaries" program]

[Text] The document adopted by the Soviet Congress of People's Deputies was published in Moscow recently. According to the document, the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations is of world significance. Station commentator (Levchev) has written an article analyzing the ties between the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations and the new thinking, which is the basis of the Soviet Union's foreign policy. He writes:

The new political thinking is being endorsed by an increasing number of people in the world today. The Soviet readiness to solve mankind's many problems has won favorable response from statesmen and media in many countries.

Where does the new thinking find expression?

We have called all countries to renounce military confrontation and replace ideological confrontations in international relations by means of cooperation. We believe this can do away with the danger which threatens the peace of mankind.

The new thinking also has one very important feature: The Soviet Union opposes the use of force in handling international relations. The Sino-Soviet summit meeting showed that Beijing also endorsed this policy and so relations have been successfully normalized in all areas. Both countries have placed the task of safeguarding peace in first place. This is closely related to the reform programs in the Soviet Union and China. Both countries have embarked on the endeavor of developing their economy and improving their peoples' living standards. The Soviet Union is of the opinion that any country has the right to choose its own way to social and economic development. Beijing shares the same view.

The new thinking advocates the settlement of regional conflicts through political, not military, means. This led to the signing of the Geneva agreement on the Afghanistan issue and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

Today the Cambodian issue is also being resolved in accordance with the same principle. It was reiterated at the Sino-Soviet summit meeting in Beijing that both sides would work harder to assist the political settlement of the conflict in Cambodia. I think this is a specific expression of the new thinking favorable for the development of the world situation.

The new political thinking can also be observed in the military sphere. People the world over have observed with satisfaction the measures adopted by the Soviet Union to lessen the military confrontation along the Soviet-Chinese border and reduce the Soviet troops in the east by 200,000 men—including 120,000 in the Far East and 75 percent of the Soviet troops stationed in the People's Republic of Mongolia.

Undoubtedly, the improvement in mutual trust will enable China and the Soviet Union to focus their attention on their economic construction. This is also in line with the objective of consolidating Asian peace and security.

Northeast Asia

Mongolia's Batmonh Arrives in Moscow 25 Jul

LD2507084389 Moscow TASS in English 0826 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 25 TASS—Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, president of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural, arrived in Moscow for a working visit today at the invitation of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

He was met at the airport by Viktor Nikonov, secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, and other officials.

Japanese Elections, Opposition Policy Assessed

OW2507051189 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] The ruling Liberal Democratic Party [LDP] in Japan suffered a crushing defeat in the elections to the upper house that were held on 23 July. Moscow Radio commentator Igor Yuritskiy will now discuss the outcome of the elections:

Half of the upper house seats were up for election. The LDP held 139 of 252 seats in the upper house before the elections. However, as a result of the elections, the LDP now holds only 109 seats, which makes it impossible for the party to maintain its majority in the chamber. Meanwhile, the Japan Socialist Party [JSP] won a landslide victory in the elections, increasing its seats by 1.5 times to 66 seats in the chamber. The victory by Rengo [Japanese Private Sector Trade Union Confederation], the largest trade union in Japan, in the elections, deserves attention. Rengo participated in the elections for the first time and 11 of 12 Rengo-backed candidates won seats to the upper house.

The defeat of the conservative faction was anticipated and not accidental. Many commentators and public opinion polls conducted by news media at various stages of the election campaign predicted the conservative party's defeat. It also was predicted that the LDP would be defeated in the Niigata by-election and in the Tokyo Municipal Assembly election, both held prior to the elections to the upper house. Commentators clearly pointed out that the ruling party's unprecedented defeat in the elections was the result of the LDP, the conservative government, and Prime Minister Uno's personal affairs. Causes of the defeat include the Recruit scandal, the enactment of the consumption tax, and the sex scandal surrounding Prime Minister Uno. The discontent of farmers, who traditionally have supported the LDP, is of no less significance. The cause of their discontent was the decision to liberalize the import of foreign farm products into Japan.

We believe that all of these factors combined to bring about the LDP's defeat. Many people have assessed that party's defeat as a turningpoint in Japan's post-war history. Despite attempts to turn the tide by giving high marks to the efforts exerted at international arenas, particularly at the Paris Summit, the future of the LDP's one-party rule, which has continued since 1955, remains doubtful. Prime Minister Uno announced that he would take responsibility for the ruling party's defeat in the elections and therefore resign. Consequently, the Uno cabinet will have served the shortest period of time in Japan's post-war history.

Commenting on the planned resignation of the Uno cabinet, opposition JSP Chairwoman Takako Doi disclosed that she would make an all-out effort to dissolve the lower house, where the LDP holds the majority of seats, and to hold general elections. Chairwoman Doi said that the JSP, as the largest opposition party, is ready to run an interim government. What draws our attention in this connection is that Chairwoman Doi has criticized Japan's foreign policy. She has criticized ever increasing military spending and the Japanese Government's tacit approval for U.S. breaches of Japan's nonnuclear policy. I believe that it is proper to add that in the past few years, the LDP government has not adopted a constructive attitude toward Soviet efforts to ease tensions and to build trust in the Asian and Pacific region, as exemplified by the Soviet Union's unilateral disarmament in the Far East.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Shevardnadze, Hun Sen Discuss Cambodia Situation

PM2507082289 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5

["E.A. Shevardnadze's Meeting With Hun Sen"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] A meeting was held 21 July between Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, and Hun Sen, member of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP] Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Cambodian foreign minister, who is on a stopover in Moscow.

Paramount attention was paid to questions related to the development of the situation around Cambodia, and in particular to preparations for the international conference, were disucssed. Hun Sen reported on Cambodia's adoption of the permanent neutrality status.

The Soviet side expressed support for the enterprising course of the government of the State of Cambodia, which is aimed at achieving national reconciliation and a restoring peace in Cambodia.

The USSR foreign minister said that as a result of the decision of the three Indochinese countries to complete the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia by 30 September of the current year, a qualitatively new situation has now emerged around that country and the practical prerequisites have been established for completing the settlement for the Cambodian problem. He noted the importance of further consistent efforts by the participants in the inter-Khmer dialogue to advance the process of national reconciliation in Cambodia.

The sides expressed hope that the talks between the Cambodian parties, to be held in Paris at the end of July, will be held in that manner. They emphasized the importance of moving forward on the basis of the specific accord reached at the first and second informal meeting in Jakarta, and at previous bilateral and multilateral inter-Khmer meetings.

In the light of the generally recognized principle that the Khmer sides will resolve their country's internal problems on their own, without outside interference, by means of political dialogue, E.A. Shevardnadze and Hun Sen expressed the conviction that the international conference would focus particular attention on the external aspects of the problem inasmuch as the conditions for its solution are ripe, and that this would also serve to promote progress at the inter-Khmer talks. It was noted with satisfaction that the positions of the interested states in respect of the range of questions which form the nucleus of the conflict's external aspects have drawn closer and lend themselves to reaching agreement.

The participants in the meeting were one in thinking that the international conference on Cambodia has to resolve such fundamental questions as the adoption of measures on not allowing civil war or the restoration of the regime of genocide in Cambodia after the Vietnamese troops withdrew from that country; the halting of foreign military assistance to all warring Khmer sides and guaranteeing the status of Cambodia as an independent neutral and non aligned state. The creation of an effected international mechanism to monitor and observe the withdrawal of foreign troops and the implementation of accords on a Cambodian settlement will become one of the key talks of this forum.

Firm conviction was expressed that a favorable outcome to an international conference on Cambodia will serve as a serious factor to strengthen positive tenedencies in South-East Asia in the direction of establishing peace, stability, the mutual cooperation between countries of the region.

Shevardnadze confirmed the USSR's readiness to take part in any international conference on settling the Cambodian problem.

The conversation passed off in an atmosphere of cordiality and friendly mutual understanding.

Hun Sen Leaves for Paris

LD2207101989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0857 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, 22 Jul (TASS)—Hun Sen, member of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the Council of Ministers and foreign minister of the State of Cambodia, who made a stopover in the USSR, left Moscow today for Paris.

Commentator on Paris Talks, U.S. Military Aid

BK2507045889 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1230 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Station commentator Vasiliy Federov commentary]

[Text] The talks between the warring Cambodian factions began again on 24 July. Today's meeting was held between Comrade Hun Sen, chairman of the State of Cambodia's Council of Ministers, and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk in the La Celle-St Cloud chateau, near Paris. Our commentator Vasiliv Federov has the following comments:

The previous meetings had taken place for not more than 2 or 3 days and they had also been different from this round of talks which was held between Comrade Hun Sen and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk. After this bilateral dialogue, there will be a quadrilateral meeting, and on 30 July the international conference on Cambodia, which will need a great deal of time, will begin in Paris with the participation of about 20 countries. This year, the organization of the conference was discussed, and, at present, its actual forum is coming. Everything appears difficult to deal with. That being the case, upon his arrival in Paris, Comrade Hun Sen advised the participants to be always optimistic.

What are on the agenda? The Cambodian parties will concentrate on the internal aspects of the problem. As for the international conference, it will focus on the external aspects of the problem to provide a guarantee for the agreement to be arrived at by the Cambodian factions.

Upon his arrival to Paris, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk disclosed that he has a moderately long list of issues to be discussed with Comrade Hun Sen, and if they study the agenda, people will not find it hard to ask: What should be done in the transition of the coalition government to prevent a civil war from breaking out in Cambodia? In the view of the State of Cambodia, the nonrecurrence of the genocidal regime is a primary condition, and concrete measures must be also taken accordingly by the Cambodian parties themselves. However, to my knowledge, Comrade Hun Sen and the samdech have already had an agreement on the issue, but the question posed is that whether the agreement is equally necessary for all the Cambodian parties? We are going to see this later.

Now, the most important thing is that nobody can bar the Cambodians from having free and constructive discussion among themselves. And straightforwardly speaking, the aim of blocking the inter-Cambodian dialogue is already known: At the time when the talks begin in Paris, the U.S. Senate has approved military aid to the Cambodian opposition. This is a new stumbling block on the way of achieving a national reconciliation in Cambodia. In any case, we are not supposed to be pessimistic. We should at all times yield to optimism as Comrade Hun Sen has already advised.

Commentary Hails Cambodian Neutrality Declaration

BK2507062789 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Commentary by station observer Oleg Alekseyev]

[Text] As we have already reported, the National Assembly of the State of Cambodia has solemnly declared the country's state of permanent neutrality. This news was given to Comrade Shevardnadze, minister of foreign affairs of the Soviet Union, by Comrade Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the State of Cambodia, during their meeting in Moscow on 21 July.

Our observer, Oleg Alekseyev, comments as follows:

The decision of the Cambodian National Assembly has elicited different reactions abroad. Some circles have expressed concern that such a decision might hinder the talks between Phnom Penh and the opposing Khmer groups, talks aimed ultimately at conjuring up a joint program for internal solution.

According to the news agency SPK's report, the concept of permanent neutrality envisions, among other things, that Cambodia will continue to firmly uphold the principle of peaceful coexistence. The news agency underlined that Phnom Penh wishes to expand friendly relations and cooperation with all countries on the foundation of the principles of respect for each other's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, non-use of force, and peaceful settlement of all disputes.

What difference is there between these principles and the cogitation of the various personalities in the opposing Khmer groups regarding the future, role, and position of Cambodia within the world community?

According to what we heard from past meetings between Cambodian factions, there has been no conflict of views concerning the fact that the future Cambodia must be independent, peaceful, and nonaligned. This means that Cambodia, in its foreign policy, must adhere to the principles of peaceful coexistence; principles that have enjoyed the widest international support, including in the Nonaligned Movement. It has been further clarified in Phnom Penh that permanent neutrality also means that Cambodia will not join any military alliance and will not allow any state to introduce troops or set up military bases in Cambodia. In my opinion, this fully meets Phnom Penh's stance as a partner in the dialogue between Cambodian factions; meaning that it will not become an obstacle to the talks. In fact, everyone knows that the presence of Vietnamese troops in Cambodia has always been seen as the major stumbling block toward normalizing the conflict. Such a view has invariably been expressed by the opposing Khmer groups.

Comment on Prospect of Sihanouk-Hun Sen Meeting

BK2207083589 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Commentary by Viktor Valentinov]

[Text] Reporters with an interest in Southeast Asian affairs are now turning their attention to Paris, the French capital. Comrade Hun Sen, chairman of the State of Cambodia's Council of Ministers, and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk will meet there on 24 July.

This meeting is unlike previous ones. In my view, it is special because the Cambodian problem has never been so close to being resolved. There is no need to explain the significance of this solution to Southeast Asia and to the international community. It is enough to say that the Indochinese states and ASEAN, the Nonaligned Movement, and the superpowers—including the Soviet Union, China, and the United States—along with the United Nations have been trying to solve this problem for over 10 years. So what has moved the problem toward a solution?

First of all, it is Vietnam's decision to withdraw its troops from Cambodia before the end of September, now less than 2 months away. Another important thing is that the Cambodian parties have hurriedly agreed on steps to restore peace in the country. The situation prior to the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops—which separates the conflicting parties—should be ended. Without an agreement, no one can guarantee peace in Cambodia after September. The threat of a civil war could become reality and a solution could be pushed a long way back. Therefore, you can see that the meeting between Comrade Hun Sen and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk has a special significance. If this meeting is successful, other meetings will follow.

Comrade Hun Sen will meet Samdech Norodom Sihanouk on 24 July, and if this meeting goes smoothly, leaders of two other groups, namely Son Sann and Khieu Samphan, will also take part on 25 July. There is some concern about the possibility of Khieu Samphan refusing to attend at the last hour, like he did before. However, I hope that this would not be repeated. The Pol Pot group is close to a total political defeat and the only way to restore its prestige is through genuine participation in national reconciliation with Cambodian groups which want the motherland to survive.

Judging from their statements, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and Comrade Hun Sen will on 24 July discuss future relations with the Khmer Rouge. They are prepared to cooperate with the Khmer Rouge but they do not yet know whether the Pol Pot group is ready or not. To prepare for any eventuality, Comrade Hun Sen, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, and Son Sann have agreed on measures to thwart attempts by the Pol Pot group and its accomplices who want to regain power in Cambodia. Between 1975 and 1979, the Cambodian people paid dearly for their rule. Over 3 million people were victims of the blood-thirsty regime. The measure to prevent the recurrence of the genocidal regime will also be discussed at the international conference on Cambodia, to be held on 30 July in Paris in the event that the meeting of Cambodian parties is successful.

Do not accuse me of deceiving you. Wait and follow this development.

Aquino To Tackle Bases Issue During U.S. Visit

HK2407034989 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Text] Philippine President Corazon Aquino announced that negotiations with the United States regarding the future of its military bases in the country would start in December this year. In a news conference she stressed that the bases issue would be a major one on her agenda in her forthcoming visit to the United States.

Earlier, the country's Vice-President Salvador Laurel called for early talks on the bases to discuss its gradual phaseout within the next 5-10 years. The United States has its two biggest military facilities in the Philippines: Clark Air Base and Subic Naval Base. The bases agreement will expire in 1991.

Further on Lukyanov's Reception in Philippines

PM2107110789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jul 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Credentials Presented"; for further reportage of Lukyanov's reception of Ambassador Saez, see page 31 of the 18 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT]

[Text] In the Kremlin 15 July Juan Saez, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Philippines, presented his credentials to A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

After noting the beneficial influence of the Soviet Union's foreign policy course on the state of affairs in the world, Juan Saez confirmed the Philippine Government's support for the efforts aimed at achieving disarmament and continuing the process of detente, which is making a positive contribution to the settlement of regional conflicts. The concept of a common European home proposed by M.S. Gorbachev is welcomed in the Philippines, the ambassador said, where it is hoped that these views will also include ideas about a common home for all mankind living in conditions of peace, harmony, and progress.

Accepting the credentials on behalf of the Presidium and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, A.I. Lukyanov stressed that the Soviet Union links its development to a peaceful future for mankind and advocates ensuring security by political means based on a balance of interests, the democratization and humanization of international relations, and respect for the right of peoples to choose their own forms and ways of development. The Soviet Union's readiness to continue the Vladivostok line on the Asia-Pacific region and to promote on the practical plane the further improvement of the situation, the strengthening of peace and security, and the establishment of extensive mutually beneficial and equitable cooperation in that major region of the world was reaffirmed.

Both sides confirmed their intention to continue the course of progressively developing friendly relations between the Soviet Union and the Philippines, expanding their cooperation, and deepening collaboration in various spheres.

Following the presentation of credentials a friendly conversation took place between A.I. Lukyanov and Juan Saez.

Results of Philippines Minister's Trip Reviewed

HK2507041789 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 23 Jul 89

[Commentary by Aleksander Vladimirov]

[Text] The results of the meetings held by Philippine Foreign Secretary Raul Manglapus in Moscow show that the dialogue between the Soviet Union and the Philippines presents excellent prospects. The mutual efforts to improve relations between both sides is no mere tactical maneuver but a sincere desire to establish cooperation between both countries which will help boost trade in the Asia-Pacific region. The detailed talks between Raul Manglapus and his counterpart Eduard Schevardnadze proved that both countries share similar perspectives about such problems as the arms race, especially that involving nuclear weapons, global efforts against poverty, disease and hunger, and an end to ecological catastrophies. Of course both countries face other problems and have differing political priorities which they must also tackle.

During the talks between the Soviet Union and the Philippines, it was obvious that the Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk initiatives manifested positive responses made by the Soviet leaders to issues facing the Asia-Pacific region. Replying to queries put to him by journalists, Manglapus said that the ASEAN countries, including the Philippines, are presently studying Soviet proposals and ideas. ASEAN is advocating that the Southeast Asian region be made a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality—one free of nuclear weapons.

For its part, the Soviet Union has signalled its readiness to take whatever steps necessary to reduce the level of military confrontation in the Asia-Pacific sea lanes. This has been manifested in its opposition to political confrontation and military blocs which have been set up in the region. This is a firm base on which to initiate a political dialogue between the Soviet Union and the ASEAN countries. The hope is that Soviet and Philippine officials will be able to utilize their capabilities towards constructive cooperation, and to help solve various international problems.

During his Moscow press conference, Raul Manglapus said that he is optimistically anticipating the start of an international conference on Cambodia which the Soviet Union and the Philippines will join, along with other countries. According to the foreign secretary, the two countries share the same view on such issues as the setting up of an international agency to prevent civil war and renewed genocide in Cambodia, as well as an end to foreign military assistance to the Cambodian opposition.

Several foreign journalists asked Manglapus if the problem of foreign military bases in Southeast Asia was discussed during his visit, and if so, what solutions were proposed. He replied that the Soviets have emphasized that the matter of the American military bases in the Philippines is an internal issue for the Philippine Government. The Soviets do share the concern over these foreign bases; and the Soviet foreign minister has often said that the Soviet Union hopes steps will be taken towards arms reduction so as to improve the world situation, thus making the need for military facilities no longer valid. The Philippine foreign secretary said that in his opinion, the enhancement of Soviet-American relations will help make such a hope a reality.

Another important result of the dialogues was in the economic and commercial spheres. Positive issues were taken up by both sides, giving substance to original plans to increase trade fivefold in the years to come. The success of these plans depends on the continuing process set up to enhance Soviet- Philippine relations. An important step towards this end is the coming visit to the Soviet Union by President Corazon Aquino in March or April next year. In his personal message sent to President Aquino, Mikhail Gorbachev said that the Soviet Union is looking forward to receiving her. Soviet leaders view the visit by the Filipino foreign secretary as an important event. As Mikhail Gorbachev has said, the Soviet Union values its relations with the Philippines, the success of which will serve the interests of both countries as well as those of peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region.

Commentary Cites Burmese Minister on Rice Trade

BK2307094589 Moscow in Burmese to Burma
1430 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Unattributed commentary: "Action Taken by the Authorities in Burma"]

[Text] According to reports from Bangkok and Myanma [Burma], the Myanma military authorities have taken decisive action to prevent any possibility of martial law orders being violated. The chief of staff said that instability in the country could jeopardize the plan of the State Law and Order Restoration Council to hold multiparty elections and that the measures introduced have been to cover this situation.

It would be difficult to speculate where the holding of mass rallies without approval could lead to. Despite a warning to the people by [National League for Democracy Secretary General] Daw Aung San Suu Kyi not to go outside because of the heavy troop presence in the city on Martyrs Day [19 July], some Rangoon residents ignored the warning. Observers say it seems the opposition leaders were unable to control all of their followers.

In addition to the efforts being made to restore peace and tranquility and law and order, the State Law and Order Restoration Council has been striving to lessen tension in the country as well as to meet the food, clothing, and shelter needs of the people.

According to Colonel Abel, minister of planning and finance and trade, the government will introduce a new system for distributing rice and selling it to poor families at cost. Replying to questions from a TASS correspondent, Col Abel said he hoped to see a marked decline in rice prices as a result of the intervention by the government in the interests of the manual laborers. He said rice will be distributed at 8.5 kyat per pyi [1/8th of a bushel] through consumer cooperatives. All races will be treated equally, he said. The reason why the cost of living is increasing is because the people, worried about a shortage of rice in the near future, have been buying up rice in unprecedented quantities.

On the other hand, the rising prices can be attributed to the greed of rice merchants who have been manipulating rice prices to new heights and are making sure that rumors about shortages of food are being spread. Last fiscal year, over 151 million kyat was spent in government procurement of rice so that it could be redistributed at cheap prices. This year, the government has been procuring paddy at a rate of 2,000 kyat per 100 basket [one basket equals about one bushel], and Col Abel told the TASS correspondent that this is double the amount spent last fiscal year.

Replying to questions by the correspondent, Col Abel said that the state could not be held responsible for price manipulations that usually take place in a free market system.

Since 1987, Myanma has been practicing a new economic policy, and last year only 13 percent of the rice produced nationwide was bought by the state to feed the military, the government machinery, and the prisons. Hence, Col Abel told the TASS correspondent, the balance of some 10 million tons of rice remains in the hands of private producers and rice traders.

French Paper Criticized for Views on Indochina

BK2207121689 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Station observer commentary]

[Text] Today is the 35th anniversary of the signing of documents adopted at the Geneva conference on Indochina. Our observer writes:

On 21 July 1954, many agreements were signed at the Geneva conference on Indochina. These agreements were the basis of militant peace and the principles of political solutions to the situations in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. The decisions of the 1954 Geneva conference officially acknowledged the victory scored by the national liberation forces of the three countries in the struggle to eliminate the administration of French imperialism. This was highly significant for the evolution of revolutionary movements in this region. The Soviet Government pointed out in its 23 July 1954 statement that the documents meant that the international community recognized the national liberation struggle and the great heroism shown by the Indochinese people in this struggle.

The people of the three Indochinese countries still have a long way to go and many difficulties to overcome in order to achieve peace, national independence, and sovereignty. The people of the three Indochinese countries also suffered through the bloody, aggressive war of the U.S. imperialists and the genocidal regime in Cambodia. However, when talking about the victories scored by the Vietnamese, Lao, and Cambodian people in national construction and in consolidation of fraternal friendship and solidarity, people recall the great victory won together by the three countries in the struggle against colonialism.

This remarkable event is marked not only in the fraternal Indochinese countries. A number of Western papers have also paid special attention to it. For example, the paper LE FIGARO writes: The signing of the Geneva agreement was a remarkable event; however, the Indochinese countries have failed to respect it. This is curious. What is LE FIGARO moaning about? Let us tell you.

The agreement on ending the conflict in Indochina envisaged the withdrawal of all foreign troops, the prohibition of the return of troops or military personnel, as well as a ban on the construction of new military bases. It is this point that the Western reporters refer to.

LE FIGARO's observer further adds: Thirty five years have passed but foreign troops, instead of being reduced, have been increased manyfold. The place left by France and the United States has been taken by Vietnam, which occupies Laos and Cambodia. What is next after this? I have the duty of answering this question. However, first of all, I would like to remind the French correspondent that the troops—first, French and later, American—did not voluntarily withdraw from Indochina. Many years were spent fighting for their withdrawal. The Vietnamese, Lao, and Cambodian people have not yet overcome all the consequences of this war.

Next, we would like to talk about the presence of Vietnamese volunteer forces in Laos and Cambodia. First, the French correspondent seems to have deliberately forgotten that Vietnamese volunteer troops are in Laos at the request of the Lao Government in order to defend the border against an eventual aggression. The presence of Vietnamese volunteer troops in Cambodia is in accordance with the Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation's request to assist the Cambodian people in chasing out the Pol Pot genocidal group. The toppling of the regime shedding the blood of its own people was welcomed by all countries the world over.

Second, I would like to recall that all Vietnamese troops were withdrawn from Laos before the end of last year. In Cambodia, in accordance with the agreement between the governments of the Indochinese countries, all Vietnamese troops will be withdrawn before the end of this September. This is the real situation today and in the future. Would LE FIGARO's correspondent please note.

One only slightly regrets that a renowned French paper has not told its readers the truth and further aggravates the already difficult process of solving the situation in Southeast Asia. [redacted]

Near East & South Asia

Shevardnadze, Iranian Ambassador Hold Talks

LD2407192589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1854 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Comrade Shevardnadze today [24 July] received Heyrani-Nobari, Iranian ambassador to the USSR, who passed on a verbal message from Minister of Foreign Affaris Velayati. During the conversation it was stated that there has been an increase in the dynamism of Soviet-Iranian relations as a result of the Moscow talks between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Iran's Majlis speaker Hashemi-Rafsanjani. It was noted that the present atmosphere in those relations allows a constructive discussion of questions of bilateral cooperation and of regional and international problems of mutual interest.

Both sides gave a positive appraisal of the course of the implementation of specific Soviet-Iranian accords reached between the countries' leaders. It was noted that their implementation is successfully advancing in different areas. During an exchange of views on regional issues, serious attention was given to the situation in and around Afghanistan. It was stressed that new opportunities are arising for exerting an influence on the situation with the aim of an intense search for ways of establishing peace and calm for the Afghan poeple.

Individual aspects of the Iran-Iraq settlement were discussed. In this matter, the Soviet side confirmed the principled stance of the USSR in favor of the most rapid achievement of a settlement between Iran and Iraq.

Iran's Economic Relations With West Highlighted

*NC2207104889 Moscow in Persian to Iran
1500 GMT 21 Jul 89*

[Andrey Krasnov commentary]

[Text] Dear Listeners, EQTESAD magazine reports that Iran's Bank Markazi [Central Bank] will allow foreign merchants to resume foreign currency exchanges. The magazine writes that this will help improve the country's financial situation and deal a blow to the smugglers in the black market.

Our commentator Andrey Krasnov writes: It is ironic that the U.S. dollar should be the most reliable monetary unit in a country which describes the United States as the great Satan. The official exchange rate is between 276 and 82 rials [as heard] to the dollar. However, the true dollar value is considerably higher in the black market, where it can be 20 times the government rate. Buying, selling, and using foreign currency inside Iran are banned. The government has the exclusive right to carry out foreign exchange activities. Iranian citizens planning to travel abroad can receive an extremely limited amount of U.S. dollars.

At a time when the budget is faced with a great deficit, government officials are trying to use this method to prevent the export of foreign exchange.

Meanwhile, severe monetary limitations have resulted in intensified smuggling and the growth of the black market. In Iran today there is a large group of new millionaires who are pocketing great profits through the sale and purchase of foreign exchange. Generally speaking, the [word indistinct] of foreign exchange reserves has led to instability in the country' economy and is intensifying inflation and high prices.

The government appears to be prepared to strengthen the monetary-financial system and to start specific cooperation with foreign companies, primarily Western ones. IRNA, citing EQTESAD magazine, reports that in the near future Iran will allow foreign merchants to resume foreign currency exchanges in the country. According to a spokesman for the Bank Markazi, this will help end the unfavorable current situation and inflict a great blow on those who are involved in the black market.

Meanwhile, it should be noted that this decision will create favorable grounds for the establishment of foreign companies in Iran. Free foreign exchange activities will result in considerable benefits for them because, in view of the vital shortage of consumer goods, they will have the opportunity to sell these products at high prices and then convert their rials into strong foreign exchange at the official rate. It is possible that Tehran may be trying to thus attract foreign investment and use this in order to stabilize its economy.

It appears that Iranian officials are increasingly deviating from their former anticapitalist slogans. For example, majlis speaker 'Ali akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani recently stated that Iran needs private investment. He announced his country's readiness to cooperate with Western governments in the economic field.

Apparently the Iranian Government intends to seek future progress through the private sector and an expansion of commercial and economic relations with the West within the permissible Islamic framework. The resumption of free monetary-financial activities may be a step toward this.

'Procrastination' in Iran-Iraq Talks Condemned

*NC2307143889 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress
in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 22 Jul 89*

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Concern is being expressed in both Tehran and Baghdad over the neither war nor peace situation existing in Iran-Iraq relations. Iraqi President Saddam Husayn stated in a nationally televised speech that a superficial solution of the conflict is unacceptable to Iraq, pointing out that such a solution places Iran and Iraq in a situation of neither war nor peace, which is a threat to the region's security and stability. Iran's KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL, in turn, blames Iraq for this situation because of its refusal to withdraw to international borders.

We believe that both sides' concern over the neither war nor peace situation is justified. But cannot Tehran and Baghdad overcome this situation? In fact, they do have the ability to change it for the better. All they have to do is demonstrate goodwill, understand their great responsibility to the Iranian and Iraqi peoples, and display mutual support in solving the problems confronting the peace talks. Otherwise, the situation will get out of control. There are elements in the Persian Gulf that work not for peace, but for an exacerbation of tension and a resumption of conflicts.

A significant part of the cease-fire line passes through Kurdish-inhabited areas. The fact is that in these border areas, the differences between the two sides are complicated by national problems. The Kurds, who live in a vast area that extends into Iran, Iraq, and Turkey, have long been struggling for national self-determination.

Their struggle has always been regarded in these countries as a threat by the antidemocratic forces in them. At the same time, those opposed to peace between Iran and Iraq have repeatedly tried to exploit the Kurds to serve their own expansionist plans. After the establishment of the cease-fire, Tehran and Baghdad sought to use the Kurdish issue as a means to exert pressure on the bilateral talks. This issue has been exacerbated so much recently that it threatens the shaky cease-fire between the two countries.

Problems were further exacerbated by a terrorist operation in Vienna in which three prominent members of the Kurdish Democratic Party, including the party's leader, 'Abdolrahman Qasemlu, were killed. A statement issued by a party spokesman in Paris says that Qasemlu and two activists of the national and liberation movement of the Kurdish people were assassinated in Vienna where they had been holding talks with an Iranian Government delegation to resolve the Kurdish problem in Iran. Iran, in turn, has blamed Iraq for this act. REUTER reports that an Iranian spokesman pointed to the close relations between Qasemlu and the Iraqi leadership, which enabled the Kurdish leader to establish the headquarters of the Kurdish Democratic Party of Iran in Baghdad during the Iran-Iraq war. He also pointed out that the normalization of relations and the talks between Qasemlu and the representatives of the Iranian Government greatly upset Baghdad.

Of course the Kurdish issue has its own roots in both Iran and Iraq. However, efforts to solve this issue through political and military adventurism lacks foresight and threatens regional peace. Furthermore, the situation of neither war nor peace in Iran-Iraq relations is a temptation to all those who support such methods. This is why the Soviet public, together with all people of goodwill in the world, condemns the procrastination in the process of the Iran-Iraq peace talks.

'Relative Lull' in Fighting in Kabul Reported

PM2107111589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Jul 89 Second Edition p 7

[Report by special correspondent A. Boldinyuk: "Is the Lull for Long?"]

[Text] Kabul, July—For several days now the explosions of shells and rockets have been heard more rarely in the Afghan capital. And although several rocket projectiles did nonetheless fall on the city—yesterday one child died and another was seriously wounded—after the recent very fierce shooting during the 'Id al-Adha holiday, a relative lull may be said to have ensued.

It has been caused by the retaliatory actions of the government troops and quite possibly by the desire of the "intransigents'" ringleaders to wait for the "fruit" of many days of shooting. The opposition groupings' tactic is clear: By showering lethal shells on Kabul they are trying to generate dissatisfaction with the government. Every day of the bloody spectacles played out in Jalalabad, Qandahar, Khowst, and Kabul should, according to their stage managers' design, undermine trust in the authorities and their ability to oppose the acts of subversion and defense civilians.

The opposition has begun to resort to direct acts of terror in the city. A Toyota stuffed with half a tonne of TNT blew up on Nader Pashtun [name as transliterated] commercial street. The very center of the capital is now a dead zone. The cordoned off street stares with the dead eyes of the windows. There are no government or military establishments here—only market stalls, a hotel, and a restaurant. What can you expect from people who coldbloodedly killed passers by walking along Nader Pashtun on that festive day?

Extraordinary security measures have been introduced in the capital. There is a particularly large number of soldiers on the streets. Armored personnel carriers stand at the crossroads and all vehicles traveling into the city center are inspected by military patrols. Parking an automobile anywhere in the region of the central streets is now a real problem. Searches are being carried out in the city. Over 300 people have been detained during swoops to establish identities. A considerable quantity of explosive has also been discovered.

During these days clashes between various groupings of the "intransigent opposition" are taking place in Helmand Province on the border with Pakistan. The number of killed and wounded in the internecine fighting between the mujahidin runs into tens. Refusing to share their spheres of influence, temporarily forgetting their main tasks—acts of subversion and the struggle against the republican troops—they are engaged in a real battle against each other.

The mujahidin's setbacks near Jalalabad where, according to BAKHTAR agency, the government forces have again advanced on the southeast salient, and the obvious lack of results of the barbaric shooting of the capital and Afghanistan's provincial centers are making observers speak increasingly frequently on the impasse in which the "intransigent opposition" has found itself. Hence the outbreak of internecine squabbling. Obviously the present relative lull is also a sign of this. But reports from Washington about the U.S. Administration's intended substantial increase in arms deliveries to the antigovernment formations, primarily shells and mines, leave little hope of an end to the bloody conflict. The opposition members are continuing to gamble on a military solution to the problem. And the present lull may become merely the latest respite before a new spiral of violence.

Commentary on Najibullah's Message to Khamene'i

NC2207120189 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress
in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] Afghan President Najibullah has sent a message to Iranian leader Ayatollah Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i in connection with the intensification of the Pakistani aggression against Afghanistan. The message says that interventions by the Pakistani military are adopting a terrorist nature. Najibullah has called on Ayatollah Khamene'i to use his influence to establish peace and security in Afghanistan in particular and in the region in general.

We believe that Kabul's message to the Iranian leader is a proof of growing trust in its neighbor. This stems primarily from Tehran's statement, its decision to prevent the imposition from abroad of pro-U.S. regimes on the Afghan people after the withdrawal of the Soviet forces. This was received favorably in Afghanistan.

It is a known fact that the Afghans face (?threats), mainly from Pakistan. [passage omitted]

Najibullah's message points out that the Iranian nation cannot be indifferent to the sorrows of the Afghan Muslims, and that it can play a significant role in ending the bloodshed in Afghanistan.

The other point is that Kabul could not but attach importance to the emergence of positive elements in Iran's stand on Afghanistan after the withdrawal of Soviet forces. Iran actively assisted in organizing the negotiations between Soviet diplomat Yuliy Vorontsov and leaders of the Afghan opposition—the eight-party alliance based in Iran. Iran does not support the Peshawar-based extremists' insistence on gaining control of the eight-party alliance. Also, the joint Soviet-Iranian communique issued at the end of the visit by 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani to Moscow which referred to the Afghanistan problem had a great impact on the Afghans. [passage omitted]

Najibullah's message displays a strong belief in the abilities of the Iranian leadership to create a positive development in the situation around Afghanistan. These abilities are not few, and the Soviet public believes that using them in order to end bloodshed and to improve the situation in the region would be in the interests of the Iranian nation, too, and also help to increase its international prestige and credibility.

Prisoner Rescue Group 'Nadezhda' Visits Kabul

Met by Kabul Officials 21 Jul

LD2107170189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0701 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Text] Kabul, 21 Jul (TASS)—A delegation of the people's committee for the rescue of Soviet military prisoners—"Nadezhda"—arrived in the Afghan capital today. It is headed by A.A. Prokhanov, the writer, editor in chief of SOVETSKAYA LITERATURA magazine. The delegation was met at Kabul International Airport by A. Sorkhabi, deputy chairman of the Organization of Peace, Solidarity, and Friendship of the Republic of Afghanistan, and representatives of the public of the capital.

Meets With Najibullah 23 Jul

LD2307165289 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "At the Call of their Hearts"

[Text] Afghan President Najibullah today [23 July] received the visiting delegation of the People's Committee Nadezhda for the rescue of Soviet prisoners of war in Afghanistan.

"On behalf of all Afghan people I express the deepest sympathy with all those who are now looking for their sons who were taken prisoner in Afghanistan," the Afghan leader said during the conversation.

"We shall use all means at our disposal to help accomplish your lofty humanitarian mission. Prisoners of war were exchanged for armed opposition grouping commanders from 1987 to 1989. Fourteen Soviet prisoners of war are known to have been released in exchange for 67 opposition group commanders.

"The other side, in exchange for the release of Soviet POWs, is demanding thousands of rebels who are, it maintains, in both Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. Over the entire period of the national reconciliation policy, about 20,000 rebels were released from prison. By now, slightly more than four thousand oppositionists remain in custody throughout the country.

"As far as I know, there are no Afghan prisoners in the Soviet Union. But, notwithstanding that, if the other side gives lists of prisoners of war, we are prepared to work in this respect and to carry out exchanges.

"We are also ready to give a list of prisoners of war who, according to information we have available, are now in Peshawar, and to receive a similar list from the other side. For the sake of rescuing the prisoners of war, we are ready for direct contacts with Pakistan. However, the Pakistani authorities have not shown such readiness so far."

During the conversation the delegation members asked the Afghan president to take action which would already now promote successful process of the release of both Soviet and Afghan POWs.

Addressing President Najibullah, Anna Gorbunova, the mother of one of Soviet POWs who had been reported missing in action, said: "For many years we have not known the fate of our children, whether they are killed or alive and, if killed, where and how. Our sons do not even have graves and this is terrible and bitter.

"Great social changes are now taking place in the Soviet Union. The Afghanistan issue remains one of painful ones in the life of our society. The people's movement for the rescue of our prisoners of war is gaining in scope.

"It is not without reason that our committee is named Nadezhda (Hope). This is one of the strongest and ineradicable human feelings. I address the president of the Republic of Afghanistan as the leader of the friendly state, as father and simply as a man in a request for assistance in our difficult but lofty effort."

In conclusion Najibullah reaffirmed his readiness to promote by all means available the release of the servicemen who had been taken prisoners in Afghanistan during the discharge of their military internationalist duty.

Sherardnadze, Syria's al-Shar' Exchange Greetings

LD2107221489 Moscow TASS in English 1910 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 21 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and USSR Foreign Minister, and Faruq al-Shar', Syrian minister of foreign affairs, have exchanged messages of greetings on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the Syrian Arab Republic. The anniversary falls due on July 22.

The message sent by Shevadnadze says that traditions of deep mutual respect, trust and friendly attitude have been established in relations between the two countries over the years that have passed since.

It is emphasised that the Soviet and Syrian peoples are brought together by common striving to rid mankind of the threat of destruction in a nuclear conflagration and to restructure inter-state relations on the basis of peace and justice.

Shevardnadze expressed confidence that the Soviet Union's and Syria's interaction in the efforts towards a Middle East settlement would further intensify, which will undoubtedly play an important role in creating the necessary conditions for a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Syrian-Soviet relations, says the message sent by Syrian Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar', have been following an upward trend ever since they were established.

In recent years they have acquired a stable and reliable character and have become an example of countries' fruitful unselfish cooperation based on mutual respect, equality, mutual benefit, and common aspirations for a world free from weapons of total destruction, a world where justice, security and peace would reign.

The message praises the Soviet Union's assistance in the implementation of a whole number of important national economic projects in Syria and the assistance which the Soviet Union renders in the efforts towards a comprehensive and just settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict in the interests of international peace and security.

Further on USSR-Palestinian Talks in Tunis

LD2207154489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0910 GMT 22 Jul 89

[For further reportage on these talks, see page 31 of the 21 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT]

[Text) Tunis, 22 Jul (TASS)—Soviet-Palestinian consultations were held there 20-21 July on issues concerning a Near East settlement. G.P. Tarasov, assistant to the USSR minister for foreign affairs and special representative on Near East affairs and V.F. Sobchenko, USSR ambassador to Tunis, took part on the Soviet side, M. Abbas and Y. 'abd-Rabbuh, members of the PLO Executive Committee took part on the Palestinian side.

During the course of his stay in Tunis the Soviet representative also met with C. Klibi, general secretary of the League of Arab Nations, and M. Amamou, Tunisia's secretary of state for foreign affairs in charge of Maghreb affairs.

Palestinian Group Leader Visits USSR 17-21 Jul

LD2107150889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1429 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, 21 July (TASS)—From 17-21 July, Nayif Hawatimah, secretary general of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, has been in Moscow at the invitation of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Afro-Asian countries.

In a talk with representatives of the Soviet public and scientific circles, Nayif Hawatimah noted the Palestinian people's resolve to achieve the recognition of their legitimate national rights and told of the PLO's efforts aimed at a peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict. On the Soviet side, firm support and solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people was confirmed.

N. Hawatimah was received in the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and in the editorial office of the journal KOMMUNIST.

Sub-Saharan Africa

UNITA Group Violates Cease-Fire in Angola

LD2507081889 Moscow TASS in English 0758 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Text] Luanda July 25 TASS—The UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] group violated for yet another time the ceasefire accords in Angola late last week. On July 22, a UNITA detachment attacked an agricultural machinery repair and service enterprise in Sao Pedro Commune, Humabo Province, disabling five tractors and burning two cars, the Angolan news agency ANGOP reported. A repair shop was partially destroyed during the raid.

In the same province other UNITA groups laid ambushes on roads in the area of Chicala-Choloanga and not far from the city of Huambo, the administrative centre, opening fire at civil cars. Two civilians died and 18 were injured. On July 21 and 22 the UNITA group fired at positions of the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FAPLA) near Andulo and Xinguar settlements, Bie Province, and Bailundo, Huambo Province.

Such actions by the group, which were launched on the days when talks were going in Zaire between the Angolan Government and UNITA representatives, call in questions the seriousness of the UNITA leaders' intentions to achieve peace in Angola, Angolan National Radio points out.

CPSU Greets Mozambique Fifth Party Congress

PM2507100989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jul 89 Second Edition p 1

[Text of message from CPSU Central Committee "To Fifth Mozambique Liberation Front Party Congress"]

[Text] Dear Comrades!

The CPSU Central Committee cordially greets the delegates to the 5th Mozambique Liberation Front [FRELIMO] Party Congress.

Today the peoples of the world are acquiring new hope and are looking into the future more confidently. The easing of confrontation, the first steps in the field of real disarmament, and the start of the processes of the settlement of regional conflicts, including in Southwest Africa—all these are visible harbingers of a period of peace which man can enter if he does not let slip the historical chance which has opened up before us.

The CPSU and the Soviet state will do everything in their power to ensure that the favorable changes in the world become irreversible. The revolutionary restructuring which has been launched in the USSR and of which our party is the initiator and leading force serves the cause of the renewal of socialism and the assertion in international life of the principles of the new thinking. The most important principle is the freedom of sociopolitical choice. Any interference in internal affairs and attempts to restrict states' sovereignty are intolerable.

Our countries and parties are linked by long-standing ties of friendship and cooperation. Soviet people are in solidarity with the people of Mozambique who under difficult conditions and despite the constant pressure from the South African racists, are continuing to march forward along the path of national and social progress they have chosen.

We wish the 5th FRELIMO Party Congress successful work.
[Signed] The CPSU Central Committee

Situations in Namibia, Angola 'Aggravated'

MB2207153989 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Commentary by PRAVDA correspondent (Vladimir Tetyokin)—read by announcer]

[Text] The progress of the settlement in the southwest of Africa reminds us of the patient suffering from a tropical fever: He feels feverish, hot, and cold, in turn, and no one can predict for sure the proper course of events.

After the signing of the history making New York agreements, (?the tides) of optimism regarding peace in the south of Africa were alternated with the ebb tides of despair and frustration. At the beginning of this month, Namibia and Angola have had their internal situations aggravated.

The police of Namibia, staffed with the killers of the antiguerrilla Koevoet [police counterinsurgency] group, were terrorizing SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] adherents. Judging by some reports, the army units raided villages. The situation became so tense that the UN representative in Namibia, Martti Ahtisaari, made a fact-finding trip to the north of the country and filed a special report to this effect to the UN secretary general. Leaders of the Namibian trade unions have issued a warning that a general strike is pending in case the terror continues.

The terror unleashed by the military and the police is nothing but an attempt by South Africa to demoralize SWAPO and its adherents, to intimidate the population, and make them vote for the puppets. The latest outbreak of terror in Namibia has again weakened hopes for success, which was born of recent reports that South Africa was strictly observing the schedule of its troop withdrawal and the election campaign had got off to a good start, with SWAPO taking part.

The killers of the Koevoet union, which should have long been disbanded in keeping with the UN peace plan for Namibia, joined the ranks of the Namibian police on orders of the South African authorities, and that has only aggravated the situation.

By contrast, the task of the police is to maintain order in the transition period. As far as I know, many eyewitnesses are swearing that the Koevoet is nothing but a bunch of professional killers, and the changing of the military insignia on their berets is unlikely to bring about positive changes.

No reports of brutalities are coming from Namibia at present. Obviously, the Koevoet was told to lie low, but fresh evidence is most likely to appear soon. Hence, the question arises: Does South Africa really intend to honor its treaties and agreements? All Pretoria's attempts to (?compose) the governments in Namibia or Angola to their liking, or to influence events there, is a risky business.

The fragile framework of the treaties was becoming stronger, but, suddenly, it was given a shake. The futility of attempts to solve political issues in the south of Africa by military force should long have been obvious to those who gained long time experience in this field. Moreover, all the participants of the prolonged conflict stood to gain from the stoppage of the bloodshed, and, yet, stereotypes of the era of force methods are hard to destroy.

Luckily enough, the experience of overcoming crises in the region is rich. Hopefully, reason, a sense of proportion, and the instinct of self-preservation will get the upper hand in the long run, and that, above all, concerns the key nation of the region's conflict: South Africa. The realities of our time are pressuring its government to look for new types of relations with neighbors and also with the black majority of its own country, which is engaged in antiapartheid mutiny.

Two African Movements' Dialogues Assessed

MB2107220089 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 20 Jul 89

["South Africa Today" feature by Aleksandr Fedorov—read by announcer]

[Text] The United Democratic Front [UDF] has published a statement, following the talks its delegation has had with the British prime minister, Margaret Thatcher.

Judging by the statement, that was a promising dialogue, in the first place, because Mrs Thatcher supported the concept of the dialogue, developed by a group of prominent figures of the commonwealth.

The concept envisages several preconditions for contacts between the rival sides in South Africa:

Firstly, a withdrawal of the troops from black townships; the freedom of assembly and discussion; the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners; and, finally, an end to the ban on the African National Congress [ANC] of South Africa.

Most of these conditions are consonant with the demands put forward recently by the black liberation organizations of South Africa.

So, the talks in London were rather encouraging but not to the extent that would allow for calling them epoch-making. Let me remind you that the concept of the Commonwealth activists, which Mrs Thatcher says is official policy of the British Government, was developed back in June 1986. That was an honest report, and its attitude to apartheid was (?unambiguous).

But, has there been any change in attitude to apartheid on the part of (?Britain) or President Botha? The answer is: no. In all the subsequent years, the South African Government (?got) all records in terms of oppression. It has introduced, and repeatedly extended, the state of emergency and banned the UDF and more than 30 other organizations.

One [words indistinct] in which the talks with the British prime minister would remain an illustration of professed opposition to the regime. One must bear in mind that in response to the UDF's call to come out in support of comprehensive, binding sanctions, Mrs Thatcher said again she was opposed to any sanctions; too, the prime minister said the international community pinned great hopes on an early start of a peace dialogue in South Africa. One has the right to hope that there is a basis for such dialogue at the moment.

There have been indications that Pieter Botha and his government, as well as his successor, Frederik de Klerk, are reluctant to turn an attentive ear to the arguments and proposals of the African liberation organizations. There was no mention of them in the just published 5-year plan for the nationalist party. In that connection, one is likely to recall the recent statement by the United States assistant secretary of state for African Affairs, Herman Cohen, who said that if every time he heard the words talks in South Africa he was given $10, he would have already been a wealthy man and could have retired on pension.

I'm not in a position to judge Mr Cohen's wealth.

As for British monopolies operating in South Africa, they're doing pretty well, that I know for sure. They follow in the (?premiers) footsteps to condemn apartheid, but they continue to make fortunes on it.

The talks in Lusaka, in Zambia, and Victoria Falls, in Zimbabwe, between white delegates and representatives of the African National Congress were in major contrast to the London meeting. There were vigorous debates, but there are still diplomatic indifference or the desire to mask the realities of apartheid with honeyed phrases.

The 115 white South Africans in Lusaka arrived at the conclusion that the ANC had a clear-cut and realistic program, including its interpretation of the latest developments. It had proved that the ANC is not going to call for a boycott of the parliamentary elections, due on 6 September, contrary to what (?they always) have been saying. That there will be no boycott shall by no means be seen as evidence of the black organization's weakness. Apparently, they have made a realistic analysis of the situation to find that the election won't fail to help the authorities prolong the existence of apartheid. Not only the black population, but even more whites are opposed to it. The dialogue at Victoria Falls between the ANC and South African novelists was evidence of this. In their communique, the novelists called for lifting the state of emergency and other oppressive legislation, releasing the political prisoners, pulling troops out of the black townships. They say that resistance to apartheid is not heroism but a vital necessity.

East Europe

Hungary's Nyers, Grosz Visit Moscow 25 Jul

Meet With Friendship Society Officials

LD2507085589 Budapest MTI in English 0804 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, July 25 (MTI)—HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] President Rezso Nyers and General Secretary Karoly Grosz, who arrived on a friendly working visit to the Soviet capital on Monday night [24 July], started their Tuesday working schedule with a working breakfast at Lenin Hill government living quarters. During this, the Hungarian leaders had an informal exchange of views with leaders of the Soviet-Hungarian Friendship Society.

The meeting was attended by Georgiy Smirnov, chairman of the Soviet-Hungarian Friendship Society, director of the Institute of Marxism and Leninism, as well as the sub-chairmen of the Friendship Society and other leaders.

The working breakfast opened with an exchange of views in a small circle—also attended by Hungarian correspondents—in the course of which Rezso Nyers welcomed the Soviet guests. The HSWP president said the new phase in the history of the two countries was making way for a faster progress in the cooperation and friendship between the two peoples, as there were still a lot of untapped reserves in this field. The current politics pursued by our countries serves the deepening of Hungarian-Soviet friendship. The Soviet political endevours induce mostly friendly reactions in Hungarians, while anti-Soviet sentiments are characteristic only of the extremely narrow group.

"We are all very pleased with perestroika and glasnost," says HSWP president.

The two Hungarian politicians drew the attention of the leaders of the Soviet-Hungarian Friendship Society to the fact that the HSWP would approve if friendship societies established contacts and a dialogue with representatives and leaders of other parties as well. They also recalled the post-liberation period when it was prominent professionals who headed the friendship societies, and stressed that it seemed to be worthwhile studying the then experience or even returning to that practice.

After the working breakfast, messrs Nyers and Grosz left for the CPSU Central Committee headquarters, where they are to start their talks with CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, at 10 am Moscow time.

Hold Consultations With Gorbachev

LD2507082989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Text] Rezso Nyers, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], and Karoly Grosz, general secretary, are beginning consultations with Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow at this time. Gabor Izbeki reports from the Soviet capital:

[Izbeki] The meeting without an agenda prepared in advance will last at least 2 hours, because both sides demand a substantive debate, a real exchange of experiences. The Hungarian leaders would like to know the depth of crisis caused by the miners' strike and the way they [the Soviet leaders] want to speed up the reforms, while Gorbachev may be interested in the way the MSZMP carries out the small details of the work in the battle for power, what the party's prestige is like, what the new era means, and whether the new leadership is continuing the policy which Karoly Grosz—then the number one leader—briefed the CPSU general secretary on in Moscow in the spring.

We both have an interest in the other's success, the spokesman of the [Soviet] Foreign Ministry emphasized here while summing up the Soviet viewpoint yesterday.

After a lunch with Gorbachev, Rezso Nyers will hold an effectively open lecture in the Soviet Academy of Sciences about the Hungarian economic reforms, while Karoly Grosz will brief a smaller circle of the party apparatus in the party headquarters on the Hungarian situation. The two MSZMP leaders will be able to give an account in Hungary tonight of the work done in Moscow.

Visit Previewed

LD2407192989 Budapest MTI in English 1843 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, July 24 (MTI)—Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and Karoly Grosz, HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] general secretary, arrived in Moscow on Monday for a one-day, friendly working visit at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Hungarian leaders were met at the airport by Yegor Ligachev, member of the CPSU CC PC [Central Committee Political Committee] secretary of the Central Committee.

The Hungarian party leaders are accompanied by Pal Ivanyi, member of the Political Executive Committee, secretary of the Central Committee; Istvan Degen, chief of staff of the party president's office; Gyula Thurmer, foreign affairs advisor to the general secretary; and Emil Kimmel, deputy director of the Central Committee office.

The Hungarian delegation is scheduled to commence discussions with Soviet leaders on Tuesday. Messrs Nyers and Grosz are to meet with Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU CC, in the morning. A lunch will then be hosted in their honour, where discussions will continue.

This is the first time Mr Nyers has paid a visit to the Soviet Union since he took office as party president. (Mr Grosz visited the USSR this spring.) Mr Gorbachev extended the invitation of the CPSU CC for the present visit during the recent session of the political consultative body of the Warsaw Treaty in Bucharest.

A new feature in the programme of the party leaders is that Messrs Nyers and Grosz will have a working breakfast with the leaders of the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society. This is a sign of the intention by the Hungarian leadership to foster good relations beween the two nations. Another new feature is that the president of the HSWP will meet leading Soviet economists and sociologists at the Soviet Academy of Sciences, which also provides a wide possibility for an exchange of ideas on reform issues. In the meantime, Mr Grosz will be meting leading officials of the CPSU CC apparatus to give a briefing on the Hungarian situation and the goals of the HSWP. The forum will also provide an opportunity for a better understanding of the views and will throw light on questions raised.

The primary aim of the visit is to provide two-way information about the situation in the countries. At the end of the visit, Mr Nyers and Mr Grosz will hold a press conference for representatives of the Soviet and Hungarian press.

Commentary Views Nyers, Grosz Visit

LD2407154189 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Two Hungarian leaders, chairman of the Socialist Workers' Party Rezso Nyers and the party's general secretary Karoly Grosz, are beginning their working visit to the Soviet Union. Political cooperation between the two countries is expanding. Aleksandr Shakhin elaborates:

[Shakhin] The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party acts in a modern spirit in an innovatory style, it is explicitly called (?for) political pluralism. It is willing to work in conditions of a multiparty system. Moreover, it assumes the role of initiator in this respct. In the framework of its economic reform, Hungary is establishing a free market economy based on a combination of three types of ownership—government, cooperative, and private. The country pursues a flexible economic policy. By the way, the current chairman of the ruling party, Rezso Nyers, a prominent economist, is viewed as the father of Hungary's reform. At the moment, the Hungarians give top priority to the need to discard old approaches connected with the outdated notions of socialism. Their bold pioneer-like policy has met with understanding in the Soviet Union, since in fact the Soviet people are also searching for a more effective model of socialism and each nation must find its own original road. Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out in his recent statement each nation has the right to make its own choice.

The present visit is designed to conduct a broad and frank exchange of outlooks and find where joint efforts can be applied. During the previous Soviet-Hungarian meeting held last March the following view was expressed: The endeavors aimed at rejuvenating socialism have drawn us much closer. This adds new elements to relations between the two countries and parties.

As a matter of fact, heightened interest was displayed in these relations in the past few days. It was occasioned by the visit of the U.S. President George Bush to Hungary. Some people tried to picture George Bush's trip as a factor detrimental to Hungary's ties with the USSR. The Hungarians described such attempts as untenable. Foreign Minister Gyula Horn has said in this connection that Hungary attaches great importance to promoting its relations with the USSR. The foreign minister ruled out the possibility that in the process of its reforms Hungary would move farther from the USSR and other socialist countries. The current visit of the two Hungarian leaders signifies a continuation of political dialogue which acquires fresh facets with the passage of time.

Polish Council of Ministers Discusses Bush Visit

OW2407061689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1040 GMT 18 Jul 89

[From the "World Today" program presented by political observer Igor Goranskiy]

[Excerpts] A session of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic was held in Warsaw. [passage omitted] The Council of Ministers discussed the results of the official visit to Poland by U.S. President George Bush. The visit is seen in Warsaw as having created a situation that will allow the complete restoration of bilateral relations. It also will help to overcome some of the obstacles which continue to hinder cooperation with international financial and economic organizations. [passage omitted]

Polish Leaders Congratulated on Elections

LD2107192189 Moscow TASS in English 1833 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 21 TASS—The Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR have sent a congratulatory telegram to Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and president of the Polish

People's Republic, and Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of Poland's Council of Ministers, on the occasion of the memorable date—the 45th anniversary of the revival of Poland.

The message points out that the Soviet Union values the relations of strong friendship and close all-round ties between the two countries and peoples, which meet their basic, lasting interests.

"We are deeply convinced in the mutual benefit of further qualitative renewal of Soviet-Polish cooperation in all fields on the principles of sovereign equality, mutual advantage and mutual responsibility, and the strengthening of socialist countries' cooperation," the message says.

The Soviet leadership emphasised that Poland's important role in the work for security in Europe and for the strengthening of peace throughout the world is highly valued in the Soviet Union, and wished Polish working people successes in accomplishing the tasks facing the country, happiness, peace and well-being.

West Europe

Defense Minister Yazov Begins Visit to UK

LD2507083289 Moscow TASS in English 0633 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 25 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy: Soviet Defence Minister General Dmitriy Yazov today flew to Britain on an official visit.

The program of his four-day stay in Britain includes a call on Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, meetings and talks with outgoing defence and foreign secretaries, George Younger and Geoffrey Howe.

General Yazov will tour an Airforce base in Scotland to inspect modern aircraft of the British Airforce and also anti-aircraft defence missile systems. He will also tour the Hebrides Islands to familiarise himself with the life and combat training of the seamen of the anti-submarine aircraft carrier Invincible.

On the programme of his stay is also a visit to a paratroop training centre and a military academy in Sandhurst.

Before departure the Soviet defence minister told TASS that relations between the USSR and Britain are an important element of European and world politics. According to Yazov, the Soviet and British leaders' approaches to handling many international political, economic and humanitarian problems are close or identical. "We have real opportunities to extend by joint efforts the area of our mutual understanding," Yazov said. In the minister's opinion, the visit of the Soviet military delegation will help build up trust between the two countries.

Deputy Chairman Biryukova's UK Visit Reported

Departs Moscow for London 24 Jul

LD2407064889 Moscow TASS in English 0640 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 24 TASS—Aleksandra Biryukova, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and alternate Politburo member, on Monday [24 July] left Moscow to visit London at the invitation of the Confederation of British Industry.

Arrives in London

LD2407123789 Moscow TASS in English 1231 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] London July 24 TASS—Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandra Biryukova, an alternate Politburo member, arrived here today at the invitation of the Confederation of British Industry.

She was welcomed at the airport by the confederation's president Sir Trevor Holdsworth, Britain's Secretary of State for Trade and Industry Lord Young, and Soviet Ambassador to Britain Leonid Zamyatin.

During her six-day visit Biryukova will hold discussions with the British Government and business people on specific issues of developing Soviet-British cooperation in medicine, light industry and lumbering.

She will also discuss possibilities to expand long-term business ties in the field of machine-building for light industry, modernise Soviet factories, equip them with modern technology and promote trade, including that in consumer goods.

French Senate Delegation Sees SS-11 Missile

LD2307112189 Moscow TASS in English 1103 GMT 23 Jul 89

[Text] Ivanovo, Central Russia, July 23 TASS—A delegation from the French Senate Commission for Foreign Affairs, Defence and Armed Forces on Saturday [22 July] visited a Soviet missile base in the Ivanovo region, where they were shown an SS-11 intercontinental ballistic missile.

The delegation was invited by the USSR Supreme Soviet's Committees for International Affairs and Defence and State Security.

The French guests were acquainted with a detailed diagram of the SS-11 missile and its technical data. Soviet experts answered their questions.

Then the senators were invited to an open silo in which they could see the missile.

Delegation head Jean Lecanuet, chairman of the Senate commission, told TASS that such a visit would have been impossible just a few years ago. He described the visit as a concrete and useful result of Mikhail Gorbachev's new policy.

"We've overcome the cold war mistrust," Lecanuet said. "There is direct evidence of progress. We've become less worried than we were several years ago, and we want the new Soviet policy to go on, but we also need to learn and understand one another better."

The senator said the arms race has assumed an unreasonable scale and that the world is spending too much money on weapons.

"The Soviet Union apparently also has to cut its military spending and pay more attention to civil needs, especially if one takes into account economic problems it is facing nowadays," Lecanuet said.

Gorbachev's policy of new political thinking presupposes mutual trust, he went on, and the best way to it is openness and access to information.

"What we've been told during our stay in the Soviet Union is nothing new as compared with, say, recent statements by the Soviet leader during his visit to France, but personal impressions and direct contacts between people are of much importance, too," the Senator said.

"This trip lets us feel the concreteness and sincerity of the changes in the Soviet Union and its foreign policy."

FRG-USSR Panel Views Hitler-Stalin Protocol

AU2407130289 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 2100 GMT 23 Jul 89

[Panel discussion hosted by ZDF moderator Guido Knopp and Gosteleradio moderator Aleksandr Zholkver in Moscow; date not given; participants: Valentin Falin, head of the International Affairs Department of the CPSU Central Committee; Lev Besymenskiy, journalist and historian; German historians Eberhard Jaeckel and Klaus Hildebrand—recorded, statements by Soviet participants in Russian with superimposed German translation]

[Excerpts] [Knopp] After 50 years we have a discussion directly here where the Hitler-Stalin pact was signed. I welcome to this discussion not only our audience in the two parts of Germany but, in particular, our audience in the Soviet Union. The fact that in this circle this evening we are discussing such a sensitive and explosive issue with people from both countries watching us is a valuable fact, a political issue, I think, whatever course the discussion takes. Because it is a discussion for Soviet citizens and for Germans we are using both languages. Our discussion will be translated simultaneously by two Soviet and two German interpreters. [passage omitted]

[Jaeckel] At that time (1939] Stalin and the Soviet Union were in a very difficult situation. I recall once again that there was fighting with the Japanese. And I think that the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government, the Soviet leadership did not in the least doubt Hitler's aggressive intentions. Now, the conflict in Mongolia might have turned into a second Soviet-Japanese war, as in 1904, and then there was the danger at the Western border, so that the Soviet Union was perhaps threatened by a war on two fronts. Mr Gorbachev pointed this fact out recently. None of this, I think, can be disputed, and this makes Stalin's decision understandable in a certain way—at least for me. Other questions emerge concerning the territorial regulations set down in the secret additional protocol to the treaty [Hitler-Stalin pact]. Another question emerges in connection with the fact that 4 weeks later the Soviet Union and Germany concluded another treaty—a friendship treaty with another two protocols. And then there were things, which, I have to say, I find particularly terrible, namely that Stalin extradited German Communists, who had sought refuge here, to Hitler. Therefore, I distinguish between the actual treaty, the conclusion of which I can rationally follow and the consequences, which I find much less justifiable than the treaty itself. [passage omitted]

[Falin] If you want to know details about the text [of the Hitler-Stalin pact]: The first text was proposed by the German side, a very short text; it consisted of two items—a nonaggression pact for 25 years. Molotov rejected this and said that we would stick to the usual practice concerning treaties, that is, no reservations in case of a provoked aggression. This is what he put in the treaties with the Baltic states.

[Zholkver] The treaty was signed, Ribbentrop's and Molotov's signatures are under the treaty. The copies of the German text were signed by Molotov in Latin script. You spoke of secret additional protocols to this treaty, even though, as far as I know, so far these protocols have not been found either in German or in Soviet archives. There have been copies and copies of copies. Many historians tend to accept these copies as authentic. What have our FRG colleagues found out from their study of the documents?

[Knopp] If I may add for the benefit of our viewers—no matter whether we confirm the authenticity of the documents or not—some brief information about what these protocols say: the division of Eastern Europe into spheres of interest. According to this, the western part of Poland was to go to Germany, the eastern part to the Soviets; the border runs along the rivers Narev, Vistula, and San. The Baltic states, without Lithuania during these first days, also belonged to Stalin's sphere of interest. The question now is whether the documents are authentic or not.

[Jaeckel] This is a purely Soviet question. In our country there has not been any doubt about this for 40 years. Here, in the Soviet Union, the authenticity of the documents was disputed until a few weeks ago. The question about the original is rather ridiculous, if I may say so. The situation was as follows: When the Allied bomb attacks on Berlin started in 1943, the Nazi leadership decided to save its archives, partly by evacuating them, partly by putting them on film. I could give you many more details about this. I could cite every place where these archives were. I will cut a long story short. At the end of the war an order was given to destroy the files, including the films. Part of the files were destroyed, including probably the original of the Hitler-Stalin Pact, which was in Silesia. The film should also have been destroyed, but a German official—we know his name, Karl von Loesch—did not do so. Thus, the film was preserved.

But I would like to add one more thing. The argument about the original is also ridiculous because the protocol is not only contained in the protocol itself but is also mentioned in the accompanying documents. Four documents pre-dating the conclusion of the treaty exist in the archives—you know them all—and they mention the protocol. After the protocol was signed, it was mentioned again. A few days later, Molotov summoned the German ambassador and said that something in the protocol was unclear and that it needed to be changed. It said that the border line in Poland should go along the Narev, Vistula, and San rivers, and Molotov said that the (Pisza) had to be added.

Thus, I say once again, the quarrel about authenticity is really ridiculous. We should not pursue this subject.

[Knopp] We should go into more detail. I want to make the issue clear. In the Soviet media there has been a development over the past few months, which, I think, leads up to the statement that, as Mr Besymenskiy already noted at a press conference in Bonn, the microfilms and thus, the additional protocol, are authentic. Mr Falin, we are now waiting for a statement by you. Do you confirm this from your viewpoint or do you modify this view?

[Falin] I would like to divide the question into two parts. Was there a secret additional protocol or not? On the basis of the documents that have been found in Soviet archives and of all that we have discovered so far, I answer this question in the affirmative. There was a secret additional protocol. The second question: Concerning the text, we have the copy of a copy, and the text corresponds to what was in fact signed at that time. As far as we can ascertain, this text is authentic, identical, or adequate. Unfortunately, I have seen so many forgeries—from papers by (Schellenberg) to (Durachevskiy) and others—that one cannot uncritically accept the thesis that this document is on microfilm like others and that outside evidence and other indications do not provide any reason to doubt the authenticity. I may repeat once again that I cannot accept this argument in an uncritical way.

For me, the more important argument is the actual development after the beginning of the war and not the text. If I take this development of events as a basis—how the demarcation lines between Germany and the Soviet Union were drawn within this entire development—I have to admit that on the basis of today's knowledge, there cannot be any big doubts.

[Knopp] May I repeat what you said? You confirm that—and this is perhaps the most important piece of news in this discussion—there is a secret additional protocol. You still have doubts that the copies that have been published are really identical with the actual protocol, but you rather assume that this is the case. May I put it thus?

[Falin] The term doubt is perhaps a bit strong. I would like to repeat what I said. I cannot accept the thesis in a uncritical way that the text that we know is exactly the same to the letter as what was agreed on and signed at that time. [passage omitted]

[Knopp] What is the lesson to be drawn from all that we have discussed—50 years of Hitler-Stalin Pact? What is your answer?

[Falin] I am participating in this panel discussion not as an official representative but as a historian. I think that this provides an additional opportunity, because I can speak a bit more freely than if I were here as an official representative.

As far as the archives are concerned, my position is the same as it was in the past. Archives have to serve man, and therefore they have to be open so that the experiences of the past can warn and help against further mistakes in the future. However, there are some points in the sphere of archives which might be important to our colleagues in the West. Just as President Roosevelt decided not to have minutes of sessions in the White House, Stalin did the same concerning his Politburo sessions. He prohibited minutes at any of the meetings and negotiations in which he participated. Therefore, there are no such files, there have never been such files, and there will never be such files.

A large part of archive material or papers were destroyed by various organizations in 1941, when the government was evacuated to the east. For instance, in the Foreign Ministry, the (Checherin) archives vanished completely, all diaries, letters, and many other things, which are politically and culturally very important, have disappeared.

I would like to quote the opinion of our Polish colleagues, Polish historians, in response to my question as to whether Stalin had alternatives to 23 August. They say that even though it is very difficult for us, he did not have a specific alternative. Circumstances forced him to conclude this treaty, this nonaggression treaty, because there was no other alternative. [passage omitted]

[Knopp] Gentlemen, I thank you very much for what you said and also for what you perhaps had to keep silent about for certain reasons. It was a very rich discussion, a discussion with many facts. I hope we have not overtaxed you, dear viewers, but it was important and right to present the facts that are important for both sides in this first German-Soviet discussion on this sensitive issue of our common history. I think that despite all the blank spots and all the differences, this discussion is of value in itself and the fact that it took place is more than just a political event, it is a historic event. I hope that it was not the last discussion of this kind about sensitive issues of our common past. I think that there is no reason for the other Europeans to be suspicious if the Germans and the Soviets talk to each other. They should be pleased, because then progress is made in Europe. And if this discussion was a small piece of this mosaic, it was good. [passage omitted]

Turkish Finance Minister Visits Azerbaijan

PM2107110189 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 6 Jul 89 p 1

[AZERINFORM report: "Reception at Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] Ekrem Pakdemirli, minister of finance and customs of the Republic of Turkey, who was heading a government delegation visiting Baku, was received 5 July by A.Kh. Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee.

There was an exchange of opinions on questions of expanding trade and economic ties between Turkey and the USSR, including the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic. Special attention was devoted to the development of border trade. The importance of activating ties along the lines of the linked cities of Baku and Izmir was emphasized.

Participating in the talks were Volkan Vural, Turkish ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the USSR, and N. Yakubov, chief of the Main Administration for Economic Relations with Asian Countries of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations.

Latin America & Caribbean

Nicaragua's Ortega Cited on Relations With USSR

LD2207183889

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1423 GMT on 22 July broadcasts a 10-minute recorded interview with Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega by correspondent (Yuriy Baranov). The announcer prefaces the interview, noting that Nicaragua has just celebrated the 10th anniversary of the Sandanist revolution and that the Nicaraguan people have lived through the U.S. economic blockade and armed aggression.

Ortega says that the main development over the last 10 years has been that the Nicaraguan people have become masters of their own land. He discusses the damage suffered by his country as a result of U.S. aggression and describes the existing framework of rich and poor countries as an unjust arrangement. He praises Gorbachev's initiatives in creating a new world climate.

Correspondent (Baranov) asks Ortega how he would assess the relations between Nicaragua and the Soviet Union, to which Ortega replies, "These are fraternal relations whereby a great country such as the Soviet Union provides selfless help to a small country such as Nicaragua. This is an example of the correct nature of relations between a superpower and a developing country. This is a token of respect for our people, and our people highly appreciate it." Ortega then proceeds discussing his vision of Nicaragua's future.

Further Reported on Vlasov Delegation in Nicaragua

Vlasov Meets With Ortega

LD2107115789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Text] The Soviet delegation headed by Vlasov, candidate-member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, which is in Nicaragua on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the victory of the Sandinista people's revolution, has taken part in the solemn opening of a textile combine—(?Tekhnitsa-2)—built in Managua with the assistance of the USSR, GDR, CSSR, and Cuba. Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega and other Nicaraguan officials attended the opening of the combine.

Comrade Vlasov addressed a mass meeting of the combine workers. The same day he was received by Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega. The head of the Soviet delegation conveyed a personal note from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to the Nicaraguan leader which contains congratulations to the Nicaraguan leadership in connection with the 10th anniversary of the victory of the Sandinista people's revolution. During the conversation, Ortega informed Vlasov about the situation in Nicaragua, the preparations in the country for general elections, and the struggle of various political forces which had developed in this connection in the republic. The Nicaraguan president also touched on problems linked to a Central American settlement.

Delegation Departs Nicaragua 21 Jul

LD2107165789 Moscow TASS in English 1543 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Text] Managua July 21 TASS—A Soviet delegation led by alternate Politburo member Aleksandr Vlasov, prime minister of the largest Soviet constituent republic—the Russian Federation, left Nicaragua for home today after attending celebrations marking the 10th anniversary of the Sandinist popular revolution.

It was seen off at the Augusto Cesar Sandino Airport by Henry Ruiz, a leading member of the Sandinist National Liberation Front and Nicaraguan foreign economic cooperation minister, and other Nicaraguan officials.

[Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 0850 GMT on 21 July in a similar report on Vlasov's departure from Nicaragua adds the following:

"In an interview with a TASS correspondent on completion of the talks, president D. Ortega called relations between Nicaragua and the USSR fraternal, marked by solidarity, and based on mutual respect. The Soviet Union and Nicaragua maintain relations which can be called exemplary, devoid of any kind of intereference whatsoever, despite the fact that these are relations between a highly developed country and a developed country."]

Political & Social

Supreme Soviet Holds Joint Session 24 Jul

Gorbachev Opens Session

LD2407222589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1715 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Statement by Mikhail Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at a joint session of the Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin on 24 July—recorded]

[Text] Let's get to work. We are returning to the agenda, but the preceding discussion makes still more urgent the adoption of that decision—what I have in mind is a decision on organizing work to carry out instructions given to the USSR Supreme Soviet by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. You have the draft. It was prepared taking into account the notes and proposals expressed at the 19 July session. But it seems to me that after the present morning session, we should nevertheless, add to point two where it deals with preparing as a priority matter for tabling for examination by the USSR Supreme Soviet draft laws on property, on land and land usage, on leasing and lease relationships, on a single taxation system in the USSR, on introducing amendments and so forth—I shall not repeat it all, you have it on hand.

We should add what we, as far as I understood, agreed on, namely, that we should include there as a priority matter the preparation of a law on trade unions and the next law on collective labor disputes. Well, I'm not giving a precise formulation, but simply naming the theme. We also discussed this, and as I understood it, it came from the deputies that we also need to work out that law as a priority matter. Also, as for the rise in pensions for the low-paid, again the exchange that took place at the morning session should be taken into account. So point two should have things added. And that would in general raise the level of the whole draft and give it a totally different nature, so to speak. How do you view that, comrades? We debated it, everyone took part, but this draft should also have such proposals added which take account of our exchange of views on the basis of this morning's discussions. And then it would be possible to adopt it.

Deputy Says Strike Not 'Rebellion'

LD2407183189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0640 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Speech by Deputy Yuriy Vladimirovich Golik at a joint session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin—live]

[Excerpts] I am from Kemerovo. What is the overall situation of the Kuzbass miners? We all flew there, all of us Supreme Soviet members flew there. We held dozens of meetings, dozens of talks. All of the Kuzbass deputies gathered in Prokopyevsk and worked there for half a day. We worked for half a day with the oblast strike committee and we adopted certain decisions on the fulfilment of the protocol about which Mikhail Sergeyevich was speaking here on the implementation of these measures. The situation is actually normalizing. The mines are operating to their planned productivity. If not all mines are not yet doing so, then they will do so in the near future. [passage omitted]

What I would like to say, and what I have been asked to convey to you by the miners, is that the main idea is that this is not a rebellion, it is not a spontaneous outburst of displeasure. All this is not because of soap production or sausage production. It is all considerably more serious. [passage omitted] The working class has come out onto the streets, onto the squares, and people did not recognize it. Unfortunately, party and soviet leaders have not been able to take charge of this movement.

I am deeply convinced that there are neither capitalist nor socialist strikes. A strike is generally a howl of despair when other means, other methods, do not get through to the consciousness of leaders both in the center and in the localities. [passage omitted]

On 11 July, when we heard about the strike, we approached Anatoliy Ivanovich [Lukyanov] and Nikolay Ivanovich [Ryzhkov]. We spoke about what was happening in the Kuzbass. They tried to reassure us, saying that nothing would happen, that there were many such events. Unfortunately, it is true, there really are many such events. The Kuzbass, however, is a special region, and if the miners take something on, they take it on in a serious way. [passage omitted]

It has been said many times that power must be transferred to the soviets, that power must be transferred to the localities. What have the workers done? They have proved the old, known theory that power is not given, it is taken. They came out and took power into their hands. Now, to consolidate it—no one is coming out against soviet power anywhere—they are coming out entirely against specific leaders who have been unable to cope. So, to consolidate this soviet power, so that it is really efficient and effective, it is evidently not worthwhile to put off these elections. That is probably the main thing the miners asked me to convey. Thank you.

Lushnikov Presents Miners' Demands

LD2407170689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0722 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Speech by deputy Vladimir Lushnikov at a joint session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin—live]

[Text] Esteemed deputies! I spent Saturday and Sunday at meetings and gatherings of striking miners of the Pechora coal basin. I want to say that indeed the strike committees ensured a high level of order for these meetings; they worked in an organized way jointly with the government commission. A number of issues have already been resolved, but there are issues which are outside the competence of the government commission and the local bodies.

I would like to say that during this period of strikes, our television and press have not worked at their best. A number of disturbances which were resumed with greater vigor were provoked, to be blunt, by misinformation in the central press and on television. In particular, at the time when the Vorgashorskaya mine had just gone on strike, it was stated that it had ended its strike and called on everyone to end their strike. Then PRAVDA also gave some incomplete information, and that was received very badly by the miners' collectives.

I want to say that the miners' collectives—and not just the miners—have understanding for the situation which has arisen in the country. We, the strike committees, and the strikers themselves, have worked hard for several days, and have worked out a package of solutions which, on the instructions of my voters, I will today convey to our government. On the basis of these meetings and the holding of these gatherings, jointly with the government commission and the strike committees, an appeal was worked out, which I now address to the Supreme Soviet.

Appeal of the strike committees of the towns of Inta and Vorkuta: We, members of the strike committee, consider that the strike by miners which are currently taking place are objective in character and favorable to restructuring: They are a sign of the advancing crisis of the administer-and-command system, which is incapable of satisfying the interests of the working people. The administer-and-command system is still strong. It adapts itself rapidly to the changing conditions. It has been able to subordinate to itself in a majority of cases party committees, trade union committees, and councils of labor collectives. We regard the demonstrations by the miners as support for restructuring and as a warning to those who want everything to remain in the old way. These demonstrations have shown the cohesion, the solidarity and the strength of the working class. We understand that in setting out economic demands we must remember that the country's economy is in a deep crisis. It will be difficult for the state today to find the resources with which to satisfy all our demands. But economic independence has to be made available to us.

We consider the actions of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the government, aimed at breaking up the administrative-and-command system, to be indecisive. We therefore express solidarity with all working people supporting the demands of the miners of the whole country. We must recognize that a serious stage has arrived, in which it is dangerous to make decisions when one is being guided only by emotions. The time has come when each of us must finally understand that the whole destiny of restructuring and of the country as a whole depends upon himself and upon all of us. We have grown tired of waiting from one 5-year-plan period to the next for solutions to problems that have become painful. This is why we have been compelled to take the extreme measure of strike action. The time has come when the resolution of all the demands that have been put forward cannot be deferred for a single second. That is the only kind of solution that the people of the North are awaiting from the government.

Along with this appeal I convey the demands of the strike committee of the town of Vorkuta, the town of Inta, a package of demands from the [word indistinct] of the Pechora basin, and also demands from the settlement of Khalmer-Yu. Together with economic demands these collectives have also put forward a number of political demands, which I will read to you. First: that power really be transferred to the soviets, that the land be transferred to the peasants, that factories be transferred to the workers. Second: that elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet from public organizations be abolished. Third: that the article in the USSR Constitution on the leading and directing role of the party be abolished, that direct and secret elections should be held for the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, for the chairmen of local soviets, for the heads of town and rayon departments of the Ministry of Internal Affairs based on alternative candidates; that an end be put to the practice of depriving deputies of the floor at sessions of the congress and the USSR Supreme Soviet by means of a vote. Every deputy has the right to express his view irrespective of the opinion of the majority. The issues that have been listed to be resolved at the second congress of People's Deputies.

Furthermore, comrades, my voters have requested that there should be a specific time-scale for the resolution of every issue. When they resume work depends precisely upon this. In the majority of collectives, in the process of these meetings, decisions were worked out whereby after my speech here, after they are advised that the package of demands has been handed to the government...[changes train of thought] and indeed our uncertainty and the continuing strikes have only been brought about by the fact that they indeed are the guarantee that these demands will be fulfilled, as has been said here already.

Our voters, comrades, have lost their trust, but I consider nevertheless that the speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich and the fact that today we still represent the interests of our voters, is the best guarantee, and we are bound to fulfil their demands. Thank you. [applause]

Alekseyev Addresses Session

LD2407185289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0731 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Speech by Deputy Sergey Alekseyev at a joint session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed comrade deputies; esteemed chairman of the Supreme Soviet; esteemed Presidium: I thinkt we have all now been through very difficult, disturbing days. Disturbing, alarming days, the like of which we have not had, perhaps, since April 1985. Well, what should we do now? Relax? I do not think so. What has happened in the coal basins is an alarm signal of the unfavorable situation that currently exists in the country. When I was at home, in Sverdlovsk, many people said to me: Don't you people at the top understand what serious social tension exists in the country? I said we understand. But perhaps we have understood all this in a slightly intellectual manner, in an abstract fashion. But now we have come face to face with the alarming, cruel facts.

I think we have to support the view that was voiced today and yesterday on television that this is connected with the incompleteness of our reforms, with their half-heartedness, the fact that in a number of cases we are not proceeding resolutely and boldly. [passage omitted]

Perhaps I will be expressing a view that will not accord some of the semiffocial judgements that have been voiced in recent months and years, but I will express it anyway. I think we have to make a slightly more precise shift in emphasis in our reforms. I think that we have been a bit rash with the political reform, which has in a number of cases become an end in itself. [pauses] But the point lies in the economy, and even the existence of the command and administrative system is built upon the bureaucratic economy; if there is no such economy, there will not be many of the problems in the political field, social tension will subside, and we will be able to tackle many of the problems more easily.

I think it is time for the Supreme Soviet to concentrate its energy on economic problems. [passage omitted] Finally, another point, which follows from the preceding one: I think we have proclaimed in our documents that power —political power—is being passed to the soviets. But perhaps it should be done like this, for our Supreme Soviet to announce that economic power is now being handed over to the working people; to solemnly state that, by means of leasing, by means of the people's enterprises being planned by Comrade (Bocharov), by means of production cooperation, the means of production are being transferred to the full economic jurisdiction of the labor collectives. [applause] [passage omitted)

Another proposal: I am voicing it with some alarm because I have got used to thinking with care, working through in all aspects what I propose, but I will say it anyway. What if we now announce that state orders at all enterprises wil be no higher than 70-80 [percent of the enterprises output]? If we make such a decision, and I repeat that it has to be carefully thought over—it is a difficult and hard decision that will place certain economic problems in a complex situation—it will immediately be the beginning of the implementation of the real power of the working people, and the beginning of the market. Thank you. [applause]

Yeltsin Addresses Supreme Soviet

LD2407131589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0928 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Speech by Deputy Boris Yeltsin to a joint session of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities in the Kremlin—live]

[Text] Comrade deputies: Of course, there are many reasons for the unusual situations which have formed in our society. Unfortunately they were not predicted. Perhaps it was also difficult to do so. But this means that, so to speak, a crisis in society is beginning, a crisis in the party, a crisis in the solution of social and ethnic issues and many others. This means that in 4 years restructuring has indeed not given people either what was promised or what they expected.

This also means that the elections of the USSR people's deputies were often carried out contrary to the line pursued by the bureaucratic part of the bureaucratic apparatus in the regions and in the center, as well. This means that the apparatus has decided to take revenge at this stage of our life, after the elections of USSR people's deputies.

This also applies to the numerous decisions which were made by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers and the joint decisions including, for instance, that on the Kuzbass. For we remember these decisions—the first, second, third and so on. These decisions have not been executed. These decisions have in many respects simply been ignored, or funds have not been allocated. And as a result, this has led to the situation where people have made political—I, anyway, agree with certain comrades in this respect—economic, and social demands through their strike committees.

The absence of trust. Perhaps that is the hardest thing of all for all of us and for our whole society. And now we somehow have to restore this trust. I think that at the present stage we must take this feeling and demonstrate it through the USSR Supreme Soviet. The USSR Supreme Soviet must express its firm, clear opinion of what we intend to do, what immediate laws we intend to adopt, and in what way we intend to alleviate the conditions of those people who, indeed driven to despair, took what was, of course, a most extreme step.

One must say that both the congress and the Supreme Soviet have not yet provided an example in this respect, but on the contrary have even caused disillusionment among many. This means that the agenda which we ratified on the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet, among other matters, is divorced from life. Those laws which were proposed are perhaps not of vital urgency today, and we, above all, in the first days of our work, did not appreciate this. And now we are reaping these fruits.

At the congress, next to the whole acute discussion on procedural and other questions, we should have adopted several very concrete laws, prepared in advance, which would have really signified our care for man, for the working man, for the toiling man, for our country's people.

Of course it is very scandalous, I feel, that we still have not passed, either at the congress, or in the Supreme Soviet, questions, or a law, or a decision on social justice and the removal of advantages and privileges. And setting up a commission is simply one more procrastination. It is not for nothing that Lenin said: If you want to tie up an issue, the thing to do is to create a host of commissions of various sorts. And I think that is precisely the fate that awaits the latest commission of this kind on the removal of advantages and privileges in the localities.

The soviet and party bodies in the localities are today in a state of confusion. Their leadership knows that the majority of the people will not elect them, and they are doing nothing. The soviets in the localities are doing nothing. The leaders of the party bodies are inactive because they know they will not be elected. If just over 30 first secretaries of party oblast committees have already not been elected as USSR people's deputies, then in the localities, where they know the background of a secretary or first secretary of a rayon committee or city committee of the party better, they certainly will not elect them. And consequently they are doing nothing.

And all this inactivity on the part of the local soviets has led to a situation where we are now swamped, literally swamped, with letters and demands from the localities. We literally cannot come out of our hotels because people are coming to us all the time with their troubles, their grief and injustice. They are coming to the deputies of the USSR people's soviet, people's deputies of the USSR, because they cannot find the truth in the localities.

And it is all this that has perhaps sparked off this explosion in our country which is so unusual but which I think, thanks to the comments and the proposals that we have been talking about here. If we make decisions on them, if we make decisions concretely and absolutely on the laws that are the top priority, then they probably will be able to trust the Supreme Soviet and the Supreme Soviet will be the guarantor for calming the situation in the country. Thank you. [applause]

Kogan Discusses Baltics Issue

LD2407222189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0945 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Speech by Yevgeniy Vladimirovich Kogan at a joint session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin—live]

[Text] Esteemed comrades deputies!

Necessity forces me to take up your time with the discussion of a question that is not directly connected with the strikes in the Donbass, Kuzbass, and the coal industry. Unfortunately, what I am now going to talk to you about is fraught with consequences that may be no less, and perhaps more tragic consequences, which may happen tomorrow, or in the near future. What I am going to talk about is the situation in the Baltics.

I want to point out to you that over about the last 1 ½ years the forces of local separatists and nationalists, who have united to a considerable extent with the supreme authorities in the republics, and have been supported by the local central committees, have proclaimed the principle of primacy of the indigenous nation. In addition, the call for our state to be reformed from a federation into a confederation has now been proclaimed there, and so on. At present these slogans are being put into practice in a systematic manner.

I specifically want to dwell on events in the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]. On 16 November last year the republic found itself in a state of constitutional conflict with the union government. Then, on 18 December, the law on language was adopted which, in addition to the normal clauses, contains clauses that are clearly discriminatory toward the so-called nonindigenous population. On the basis of the 16 November resolution, the Estonian SSR Law on Financial Autonomy was unilateraly adopted on 18 May; once again, in many of its clauses is in conflict with the USSR Constitution.

Now—to be specific, today—an attempt will be made to push through a law on elections which is absolutely discriminatory, and which deprives tens of thousands of people of the vote in Estonia alone. At the heart of this law lies a census of settled residence, a census of permanent habitation. It is a census of settlement not only for the voters but also for the candidates; the settlement ranges from 5 to 15 years.

We have approached the Supreme Soviet and the Central Committee more than once. Unfortunately, there has been no reaction to the events in the Baltic. I am forced to tell you that I believe our bodies of power are now operating like a fire brigade, and only begin acting and taking measures when the shooting, fires, strikes, and so on begin. I consider that this is an elementary inability to carry out the tasks of government. I am now forced to tell you that at the end of last week there were meetings, many thousands strong, in many Baltic towns. Thus, more than 30,000 people came out in spite of the torrential rain. Meetings were held in the Estonian towns yesterday and the day before, and there were not just ten thousand there, as was stated.

I am forced to read you an address to the deputies and members of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which has been adopted:

Esteemed people's deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet members! We citizens of the USSR who live outside 'our', in quotation marks, territory, are forced to approach you for help. The concept of citizenship in any state indicates the mutual responsibility of state and citizen. The citizen defends the interests of the state, while the state guarantees the protection of the citizens' constitutional rights over the entire territory of the state. In the history of our socialist fatherland a whole series of lawless acts against its own citizens, entire peoples, and individual people, has been known. Millions of people suffered through no fault of their own under the slogan of renewal of society, increasing the material prosperity of the people, and strengthening the country's might.

Now, too, another historical stage of revolutionary restructuring dooms us, the hundreds of thousands of people who are not of the indigenous nationality in the union republics, to a lack of rights and to humiliation.

In Estonia, at the level of the highest rungs of power, the ideology of a confederative system for the USSR and of total secession from the union has taken its final shape, which is at present unfavorable by virtue of economic considerations. In the meantime a course is being pursued toward the elimination of the USSR Constitution currently in force on the territory of the republic, and toward the mass emigration of representatives of non-Estonian nationality to change the demographic situation. all of this is borne out by cases of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet taking legislative acts running counter to the USSR Constitution and the ideology of preserving a single state. The idea has been advanced of the autonomy of the Estonia Communist Party of youth organizations, of trade unions, and so on. The events taking place in Estonia are not receiving an appropriate assessment on the part of the USSR government, the CPSU Central Committee, and the USSR Supreme Soviet, with the exception of the adoption of the decision by the Supreme Soviet Presidium on 26 November 1988, recognizing the amendments to the Estonian SSR Constitution as invalid.

This decision was not put into effect, however, and has in practice been turned down by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet. More than that, there followed the adoption of new laws on the basis of the amendments adopted on 16 November. There followed new violations of the USSR Constitution, and there was no subsequent assessment on the part of the central organs of power. Today, 11 articles of the USSR Basic Law have, directly or indirectly, been violated in the Estonian SSR, including eight in the sphere of citizens' rights. At the present time there has been published a draft law on elections, which violates the constitutional rights of USSR citizens not belonging to the indigenous nationality residing on Estonian SSR territory. Draft laws have been prepared on immigration, which provide for an immigration administration, and which strictly regulate the movement of citizens inside one state, the USSR.

All of these documents are being prepared and adopted by people with party cards in their pockets. Many of them occupy high government posts. A year ago we still had a belief that the laws of the USSR, the constitution of the USSR and the Government have the possibility of stopping the processes that are directed toward discriminating against their citizens. We believed that the visits by the country's leaders and certain commissions would clarify the prospects for the development of political processes in the Baltic region, would lead to a purposeful dialogue at all levels of the party and state apparatus, and to a broad provision of information in the whole of the Soviet Union. But our official organs are taking a position of nonintervention in these processes.

What is this? An inability to make a deep analysis and foresee the prospects for the development of events in the country? Or perhaps, the conversion of the USSR to a confederation is a political goal for someone? Be that as it may, but the people have to be told honestly where we are going, or where, once again, we are being led. We are tired of the years and years of lies and bankruptcy of government. We heard on several occasions from the rostrum of the Congress of People's Deputies of the need to build a law-governed state, but in order that people should have faith in the true aspirations of the leadership of the USSR Supreme Soviet in putting this slogan into effect, it is already now essential to show an example of rigorous supervision from above of compliance with the existing laws, and show people an ability to defend their civic rights, if only on the territory of their own state. We have listened with attention to the address by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. We now have a clear understanding of the position of the leader of the party and state, and it is encouraging to us. This is clearly not enough, however, since this is for the moment his personal position. If the USSR Supreme Soviet, the government, and the CPSU Central Committee do not strengthen this position today, do not show firmness, right up to taking resolute measures against the communist leaders and state figures who are violating socialist legality and provoking constitutional conflicts, then the crisis of confidence in the government and the party will deepen. There can be no confidence in a government that is incapable of defending its own citizens. Disgraceful cases of violence against people which have occurred in various regions of the country, the deaths of hundreds of people, the debasement of human dignity, torrents of refugees—this is a process which, if it is not stopped in the most resolute manner, can afflict all regions of the USSR.

In Estonia we are on the threshold of the mass expulsion of non- Estonians from the republic. Similar events, as we are well aware, are looming in the other Baltic republics, too. The proclaimed ideology of the priority of the nation, the slogan "Estonia for the Estonians," demands for improvements in the demographic situation, find their embodiment in the documents already adopted and in the draft laws of the Estonian SSR under elaboration. Events are developing at an accelerating rate. In Comrade Lukyanov's replies to people's deputies, it was said that the Politburo knew of the events in Georgia the day after they happened.

We are informing you in advance, and we are urgently asking you to take a more serious look at the development of political processes in Estonia and other regions of the country. We are asking, through the central press, that explanations be given, on behalf of the Supreme Soviet commissions, the USSR Government, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, on the following questions:

First, what guarantees of protection of our constitutional rights do we have? Second, according to which laws should we live today, if the laws of the republic are at variance with the laws of the USSR and infringe on our rights? Third, what measures will be taken against members of the government and leaders of the party and soviet organs of the republic who disseminate and participate in the adoption of unconstitutional decisions? For our part we consider that as early as the very near future the USSR Supreme Soviet could strengthen the legal guarantees of national minorities, and primarily citizens living outside their national-territorial formations. A status is required providing a legislative consolidation of our rights on the territory of the union republic, and giving us the possibility, if need be, of forming our own national-territorial autonomous regions with a change in subordination. It is expedient to determine the status of refugee, providing guarantees of compensation for material and moral damage from the budget of the relevant republic. We consider that the leaders of the republics in which inter-ethnic conflicts have been allowed to occur, leading to loss of human life or to the mass expulsion of people from the territories they inhabit, should immediately be relieved of the posts they hold and excluded from the CPSU, and in particularly serious cases, brought to criminal account.

Comrades, this was adopted in the city of Tallinn, at a meeting on 21 [July]. I am now handing to our Presidium this appeal, and also the resolution of the meeting, and an appeal to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet I implore you, urgently, to stop what is currently happening there, because the consequences can be most serious. I ask you urgently to set up a commission, which would travel to the localities, and which would not sit in the Central Committee, but would visit the labor collectives and meet people, and talk and find out what is going on, and stop the process, the infringement of citizens' rights. I am ending here, please forgive me that I have perhaps taken up too much of your time, but the events which can occur tomorrow compel me to violate the procedures today.

Deputy Speaks on Draft Laws

LD2407234689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0910 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Speech by Deputy Siym Kallas at a joint session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin—live]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] And therefore we need to truly and resolutely decentralize all power and to give enterprises, republics, and local bodies of power rights to decide for themselves. I thus consider these tasks of adopting such draft laws the main ones during the work of our Supreme Soviet. Only then can one properly resolve questions of social and economic development, and then the highest authorities of the Union would not always be involved with all of these strikes and other conflicts. The conflicts would be resolved locally.

One can say that following the June 1987 plenum, many economists forecast and warned about the so-called Polish spiral of strikes, which has in essence now begun. Therefore I call for all of these draft laws which increase the genuine responsibility and authority in the localities of enterprises of republics.

As far as the speech of our constant opponent Deputy Kogan is concerned, given the information, I must say all the same that such a meeting did take place there. There were approximately 7,000 people present and in general it means that support for the Interdvizheniye [Intermovement] is now estimated at about 7 percent of the non-Estonian population, while all the draft laws are supported, according to sociological research, by 69 percent of the non-Estonian population.

They are supported. As for all of the talk about some kind of mass eviction of the non-Estonian population—this is not true. We are thinking in our draft laws of adopting measures in the interests of all of the permanent residents of Estonia. (?Somebody) very much wants someone else to start hitting heads and would consider it particularly good if the Estonians started hitting them. I can assure you that the Estonians will not be hitting anybody, ever, and in that sense I do not think that any kind of bloody conflicts lie ahead in our country. Thank you for your attention. [applause] [passage omitted]

Lukyanov Delivers Report

LD2407224289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1837 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Speech by Anatoliy Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at a joint session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin on 24 July—recorded]

[Excerpts] Esteemed comrade deputies! In accordance with the USSR Supreme Soviet decision of 1 December 1988 on the sequence of the bringing into operation of the USSR law on changes and additions to the Constitution, the Supreme Soviet Presidium was instructed, in the period between Supreme Soviet sessions, to propose necessary changes to existing legislation with the subsequent presentation of decrees for approval by the Supreme Soviet. It was also established that the decrees published by the Presidium, and which had not been examined by the USSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation, should be presented for examination by the Supreme Soviet elected by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. The decrees adopted during this time are in your hands.

Beforehand, and taking into consideration deputies' wishes, they were handed for completion to the Committee for Questions on Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, and examined by it with the participation of other committees and commissions last week. This work has been completed and the Supreme Soviet Presidium has the opportunity of presenting to you for approval all the acts of legislation which have been adopted by it.

In all, 18 decrees are being submitted for your examination. Touching on various spheres of the life of Soviet society, they are directed toward the further deepening of the changes that have been commenced in the economic system, the humanization of the sphere of rights, and the intensification of the organization of order in the country. [passage omitted]

In order to further improve our legislation on order on the roads and the work of members of the militia, a decree was adopted on 6 February 1989. It contained alterations and additions to acts of legislation on administrative responsibility for violations of the highway code. A list of those violations that are not of great significance has rarely been examined. Excluded from them is a large group of minor misdemeanors. However, taking into account the real threat that exists on the roads, the real threat to road safety and the lives and health of people, responsibility has been considerably intensified for violations provided for in the law today. Accordingly, the size of fines is being increased. It must be said that, up to recent time, over 35 million people have been punished every year by administrative order for violations of the highway code and of other general administrative rules in the country, with over half of them for minor violations, which, essentially, have had no affect on road safety. The measure stipulated by the decree will help to concentrate the efforts of the State Motor Inspectorate services on exposing and suppressing those violations which most often lead to accidents. Suffice it to say that last year alone over 47,000 people died on the roads, mostly through the fault of drivers. [passage omitted]

The intensification of the work on the rehabilitation of citizens who were unlawfuly repressed in the thirties and the forties and at the beginning of the fifties will be assisted by the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of 16 January 1989, which has been put forward for your approval. This decree states that the decisions outside the judicial system, passed by the so called troykas and special conferences, are revoked. All persons condemned by these bodies are being rehabilitated. The only ones to whom this rule does not extend are traitors of the homeland, members of punitive units, Nazi criminals, participants in bandit formations and their accomplices, workers who engaged in the falsification of criminal matters, and also persons who have committed premeditated murder and other crimes.

I would like to inform the USSR Supreme Soviet that, as of 1 July 1989, over 260,000 people had been rehabilitated in our country, including 235,000 people under the decree that I am reporting to you. [passage omitted]

A number of decrees, presented for your examination comrade deputies, arise from the profound changes in the USSR's relations with other countries and the implementation of the principles of new thinking in international relations. The encouraging thaw in the international climate is, to a considerable extent, connected with the Soviet state's policy of equal security in the military sphere. This has enabled a number of steps to be taken in reducing our military expenditures and in carrying out a conversion of the defense industry. In connection with this, on 21 March 1989, the Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted a decree on the reduction of the USSR armed forces and defense expenditure during 1989-90. It stipulated that the number of Soviet Army and Navy personnel would be reduced by 500,000 men, with a considerable reduction in the volume of conventional armaments and the Soviet Union's expenditure on defense needs according to the country's state budget, which would create the opportunity to direct the funds released toward accelerating the development of the national economy and meeting the vital requirements of Soviet people.

With the purpose of bringing the armed forces into line with the tasks and functions established by the USSR Constitution, which they were created to fulfill, in other words to defend the peaceful labor of the people and the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Soviet state, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, on 21 March of this year, adopted a decree on the discharge from the USSR armed forces of border, internal, and railway troops. By a decree of 10 April 1989, on the introduction of changes to the USSR law on the general duties of troops, it was stipulated that, from 1 January 1989, day students and students of higher education would henceforth not be called up for military service during their period of studies.

It is well known that this decree was received with approval in society and received support in works' collectives and among scientists and young people. [passage omitted]

Further on Lukyanov Report

LD2407172889 Moscow TASS in English 1710 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Excerpt] Moscow July 24 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

Today's discussion at the USSR Supreme Soviet on the recent miners' strike blossomed out into a nearly four-hour-long heated debate on the situation in the country and the fate of perestroyka. The debate ensued after Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev addressed the session with a report on the situation in the country's coal-producting regions. [passage omitted]

Then the deputies heard the report by Anotoliy Lukyanov, first vice president of the USSR Supreme Soviet, on decrees of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, due to come into force following the endorsement by the session. They include decrees "on reducing the USSR Armed Forces and defense spending in the period 1989-1990", "on additional measures to restore justice towards the victims of repressions in the 1930s-40s and early 1950s", "on levying income tax on cooperatives" and others.

The decrees are expected to be discussed at tomorrow's joint session of the two chambers.

More on Lukyanov Address

LD2407175589 Moscow TASS in English 1740 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 24 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The decrees submitted by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet to the Soviet Parliament for endorsement are aimed at further deepening the current reorganisation of the country's economic system, at humanising the legal sphere and at enhancing discipline and order, Anatoliy Lukyanov, first vice president of the USSR Supreme Soviet, said on Monday.

When delivering a report on this subject at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, he said that 18 decrees suggested for endorsement had been considered in the committees and commissions of the Soviet Parliament last week.

Among these legal acts is a decree "on lease and leaseholding relations in the USSR". Lukyanov said that leasing is viewed in the decree as a qualitatively new form for organizing cost-accounting activities of state-run enterprises, collective farms and individual citizens.

He added that the leasehold is the property of the state but products turned out by leaseholders belong to them. The property of the whole people thereby ceases to be no one's property.

A number of decrees, Lukyanov went on to say, have been adopted in direct response to numerous inquiries coming in to central bodies from Soviet people who demand that a firm legal order be established in society, that discipline be tightened, and manifestations of mentality that everything goes and of lawlessness be done away with.

The decrees of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet closely link the realisation of such demands with the overall process of carrying out the legal reform and the establishment of a mechanism to protect democracy from destructive anti-social actions and from dangerous manifestations of anti-Sovietism, nationalism and extremism.

Among such legal acts the speaker mentioned the decree "on introducing changes and addenda to the USSR law 'on criminal responsibility for crimes against the state' and to some other legislative acts."

The decree became a considerable step forward in the field of democratising Soviet criminal legislation, the speaker said. It narrowed the sphere of criminal responsibility for crimes against the state, removing from it the notion 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda' which in practice had provided an opportunity for rather broad interpretation.

Lukyanov pointed out that the decree had been prepared with due regard for the existing world practice. It proceeds from the spirit of international treaties, the common stand of the countries that signed the Helsinki and Vienna documents.

The speaker then touched upon the suggested changes to the decree "on additional measures to restore justice towards the victims of repressions in the 1930s-40s and early 1950s".

He said more than 260,000 people had been rehabilitated in the country as of July 1, 1989, including more than 235,000 under the provisions of this decree.

A number of decrees, the speaker emphasised, arise from deep-going changes in the Soviet Union's relations with other countries and from the exercise of the principles of new thinking in international relations.

The reassuring warming of the international climate is to a considerable extent connected with the Soviet Union's policy of equal security in the military sphere, he said.

This made it possible to take a number of steps to reduce military spending and to carry out defence industry conversion.

In this connection the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet in March this year adopted a decree "on reducing the USSR armed forces and defence spending in 1989-1990".

The decree specifies that the numerical strength of the Soviet Army and the Navy will be reduced by 500,000 men, with a substantial cut in the amounts of conventional arms and in Soviet spending for defense needs under the country's state budget.

This will make it possible to direct funds thus released towards accelerating economic development and ensuring the satisfaction of the urgent requirements of Soviet people.

Gorbachev Closes Session

LD2407122189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1010 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Speech by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secreatry of the CPSU Central Committee, summing up the debate at the joint session of the Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin—live]

[Text] [Gorbachev] One can attempt to somehow generalize on such a complex discussion, but I would not take it upon myself to provide, in that generalization, answers to all the questions that have been raised and that cause concern, although I must say that even given the most acute postulation and the most extreme viewpoints on any issue, I can see benefit in every statement. I can see benefit in every statement, although I believe we are all considering what we can adopt, what we can agree or disagree with, but that is the nature of the democratic process: to examine the entire range of issues and somehow to find up some common, agreed final conclusions.

I would thus like to return you to the situation that made us begin this discussion. The first thing is the miners, after all. The situation still causes concern for us all, although it has started changing—radically changing for the better. We must clearly note this, because through this we see the responsible and considered nature of the actions being carried out by our comrades, the miners, the workers. I believe that without such an assessment, without this, we cannot bring to an end the situation that has developed in our coal basins. That is the first point.

Second, the time has already come for us, or will come, when the proposals agreed on and signed by representatives of the center and the miners' strike committees, with the participation of local bodies, will be entirely incorporated, so to speak, in certain documents. Comrades, in this context we will perhaps act thus: passing all these proposals that have already been received—and which I hope will be received in the near future—to our Supreme Soviet committees and to the government so these bodies can immediately begin an examination of all these issues. Furthermore, I believe that this approach must be implemented. There are many issues that must be resolved as we move along. Incidentally, before they came here in those agreed-on protocols, many of them had already been agreed on, on a preliminary basis, and had been worked through by the commissions, with the government and other central departments, and with the participation both of the Central Committee and the Supreme Soviet deputies. So some of the issues here have virtually been agreed on already, all in all, and decisions on this count must be formulated and issued.

As far as the other issues are concerned, the protocols also have time-frames written into them for work to be done and presented to such and such a body. I believe that both the government and the committees must work on the basis of these protocols, so that the agreed decisions are obtained that reflect all these stances that have been presented to us in documents.

There you have the two parts of these questions. This is the sort of decision we should make—a brief one, because later we will be receiving information from the government and the committees. Some of them will be decided by the government. They do not need to be examined by the Supreme Soviet. Others will need to be enshrined in legislative acts, and this will be submitted to us in the Supreme Soviet after study by the government committee. Comrades, that is what we probably should do.

That is the first part. The second part of the question, which we cannot ignore, is this: I believe that what has occurred in these regions, not the other regions—I think all must draw conclusions from what we have been saying here—shows that there are very serious reasons for the fact that everything that has contributed to causing this to emerge so acutely... [Gorbachev changes thought] The whole country is now alarmed and exercised; we are all exercised with these issues. This must be the subject of the most thorough discussion—not just 1 hour or 3 hours, and not even 1 day.

Through the channels of the Central Committee, we have expressed this wish and demand to the local party bodies: that they should hold party meetings and plenums of the city party committees, and plenums of the oblast party committees, inviting, if necessary, representatives of the working class. I believe that is necessary, so people can say directly to the elective bodies what is in fact the case, and so that this may be subjected to examination. I believe it is incorrect to evade the issue and argue: Let us wait until the center has investigated it and has or has not decided something. There are things to examine in the localities, there are matters to discuss, and there are decisions that must be made so that the situation may improve. It seems that we have expressed these wishes to the party bodies through the Central Committee.

The Supreme Soviet today must express such an urgent recommendation—demand, if you will—to the soviets at the appropriate levels, rayons, towns, oblasts, and the republics. The same has to be said to...[Gorbachev changes thought] It is a request; we cannot dictate to the trade unions. But the deputies can, as it were, express their wishes, and address an appeal to their trade-union bodies. Let them also sit down and think over what has happened and what must be done so the trade unions may fulfill their role. That, then, is part of it.

Now in this context, the question of the elections has arisen. It is in fact already being discussed. I encountered this when I was in Leningrad. The comrades who are now, on the instructions of the center, in the mining regions, have also encountered this. In particular, I was talking yesterday with Comrade Slyunkov. I believe he has also said something on television about this when he was there with the miners and gave a brief interview. So what needs to be said about the elections?

You and I have spoken in favor of these issues being resolved by the republics. Incidentally, when at a certain stage there was a proposal that the Supreme Soviet, or at least the Supreme Soviet Presidium, should formulate some basic principles for preparing electoral laws for each republic, some of the republics were categorically opposed to that. They said that this is the sole prerogative of the republican bodies and the supreme soviet presidia, and that they must not be deprived of this opportunity. So today also, this proposal was made in the same way that maybe these should be formulated. I do not know, comrades. Let us exchange views, but there should be agreement from the republics on this score.

What have the republics done? They have requested a meeting here in Moscow and a conference to compare viewpoints. Such a meeting took place on Saturday [22 July]. Comrade Lukyanov and the chairman of the chambers took part in it, and they devoted the whole day to this. It must be said that this was very fruitful. It was not at all straightforward, and that is as it should be. It was an exchange of opinions, a conversation. It seems we will not have similar laws. That is my first assessment, so to speak. I have not yet heard Comrade Lukyanov in detail since many republics are in favor of and are thinking of adopting laws which would in general distinguish them from each other. Shall we, by opting for formulating general principles, torpedo, so to speak, and restrict them? [deputies make indistinct remarks] Hang on, wait: that is the next question. [Gorbachev laughs] Let us talk about that in a bit.

So then, we will probably hardly manage to be in command from here, comrades. We will hardly manage. But let us exchange views on this issue. We need some sort of general guiding document stating the principles, because many republics, the majority of them, comrades, have said that they will not hold congresses. Those are the immediate questions.

[(?Lukyanov)] It is not just the congresses, but they have fixed different dates for the elections.

[Gorbachev] Incidentally, many republics have in mind different dates for holding elections. So, shall we give the command from here or not? [some deputies say: "Yes"; others say: "No."]

I am setting it out: Where were the similar views when, for example, the majority said that there is no need to hold constituency meetings? I know that individual republics do intend that all the same. There is then a need to restrict or, on the contrary, to introduce in this instance certain restrictions. For example, if there are up to 10 candidates, a constituency meeting should not be held, but if there are more than that, perhaps it would be expedient to hold one.

Well, I am informing you that there were debates on all these points. Incidentally, a very serious issue was also discussed on public organizations. In the final analysis, we are increasingly noticing that the introduction and inclusion of public organizations in the political process and the election campaign have, all the same, brought much interest and value. Through this channel we have detected the mood and this pluralism of opinion existing in society. At the same time, it is evident that dissatisfaction has arisen among all that this process has turned out, somehow, excluded from the general election stream, and many, if not the majority—I cannot at present claim this, but that is, I think, how opinion is forming—believe the nominations and role of the public organizations should be preserved but they must all go through election. [sentence as heard]

But we must also reflect on how this is to be done. A question has also arisen there. It is, so to say, at present being debated in the country. I was confronted with it when I was in Leningrad. It is being debated. And there they asked me this question directly. And here Leningraders have questioned me as to my point of view.

But what is the question? The workers, labor collectives, and production collectives—not just workers—are analyzing the last campaign from the angle that they somehow found themselves in the last campaign beyond the bounds of active participation. They addressed this and, it seems to me, justifiably placed the blame on the party, which, naturally, as a party in the elections, was spending its special, main, so to speak, working time presenting a platform, and, so to speak, carrying out work with the workers, in order to create an atmosphere, and, so to speak, preserve democratic principles. So a body of deputies was formed that corresponds to the tasks of restructuring and the demands of the democratization processes on which our people and society insist.

This must be grasped, but at the same time various options for resolving this problem have begun to be discussed. I am aware that this has reached the republics and all these various options have begun to be discussed. I believe that all this is normal at the stage of study of the laws for holding elections in the republics. I think that also at some stage such forms should be produced and used, so that the public participates. As it seems to me—or perhaps I have not fully grasped this, but as it seems to me, I have understood it this way from the information—all the republics intend to prepare and publish these draft laws in the near future for discussion, for the workers of the republics to discuss.

That is something about elections. In connection with this I want to say that my proposal that I submitted—possibly you did not pay too much attention to it—

corresponds to this situation, that the republics will decide the time scales and the form of the new elections to local bodies, based on electoral law discussed by all the people.

But at present there are issues that have come to a head, requiring that the session discuss them immediately, without delay. Moreover, when discussing these reports by the executive committees of the corresponding regions, in those places where it is necessary to make decisions on cadres, we must make them without waiting for an election campaign.

In any case, comrades, I would say this: In my opinion, we would be acting wisely if we, the Supreme Soviet, showed trust in the republics in this case, but it must be without fail with the condition that the Supreme Soviet will come out in support of everything being done so that the elections—at the times to be decided by the supreme organs of the republics—are a continuation of the democratization process of our whole electoral legislation, and so that these elections will allow all the anxieties of the working people that have been expressed during these days both in the mining areas and in other places to be taken into account.

So I should like to exchange views with you on this very vital and acute issue. I believe that we should not now deprive the local soviets and local party and trade union organs. If issues have come to a head with them, let them discuss, tackle, and remove the problems. If cadres' issues have come to a head with them too, that is also their affair, let them discuss them and make decisions. At the same time, the republics themselves must decide when and after what period of time they need to hold elections. So I am summing up these arguments of mine on this issue. This is the third point of my arguments.

Now, comrades, on the second very important section to which, properly speaking, this whole discussion has been devoted: Many bitter reproaches, critical observations, grave accusations, and criticisms of the activity of the center have been expressed. I believe that, given all of this, we must extract from all these critical observations all that ought to assist us now, both at the center and in the localities, in acting with regard for the real situation in the country. This means we must tackle all issues. Both the Supreme Soviet and... [Gorbachev changes thought] I believe you have taken note of the conference at the Central Committee and of the fact that in recent days there have been sessions in several (?stages) in the government, which has already been formed for the most part. All this, comrades, is being perceived. We all share this concern. I believe that all of us here understand the entire crucial nature of the moment and the need for decisive measures and for practical and intensive work.

In this connection, I believe that, overall, it could be summed up as follows: Many or most of the issues could be resolved if you and I now engage in doing everything to prepare—as you have recognized, and the draft is in your hands—and immediately adopt a law on ownership in the USSR, a law on land and land usage, a law on leasing and leasing relations, a law on a unified tax system in the USSR, a law on the submission of amendments, additions to the laws on the state enterprises and cooperatives, a law on the socialist enterprises, a law on general principles for leadership of the economy and the social sphere in the union republics on the basis of extending both sovereign rights and self-government, and a law on general principles for local self-government and local management. During the discussions, I have also seen that two drafts have been added. They must be defined, and maybe they will also be adopted for consideration. Drafting a new law on trade unions is needed immediately, taking into account what is being dictated to us by life today. There is a law that you already have, or is it at the committee?

[Unidentified speaker] It is at the committee.

[Gorbachev] It is at the committee, so it is already there. It has been submitted by the government and the All Union Central Council of Trade Unions and is on strike, that is, labor disputes, the resolution of labor disputes, of collective labor disputes. So those are all the issues. All these laws, if we now work through them thoroughly—and it is simply essential to do everything—will immediately take us to another level of work. They will open up a broad path for progress in both economic and political reform. So that is the fourth issue I wanted to formulate by way of summing up.

Now number five. The deputies spoke in favor of—even before we split up for August so we can assemble once more in mid-September and get down to work—they nonetheless spoke in favor of concluding this session by adopting a law on the poor. I have to say that this issue has been discussed in the Politburo and the CPSU Central Committee, with due consideration for this formulation from the deputies in the government. As a result this proposal is appearing.

We have the Congress decision to draft and adopt the law so it can come into force on 1 January. As you will recall, it was mentioned that we have to find approximately R6 billion to put it into effect, just to implement the provisions that we are inserting in this law concerning the poor categories of workers in order to raise their pensions. So I believe we ought to keep everything as the Congress instructed, because this source... [Gorbachev changes thought] It means what contribution enterprises should make here, what cuts we should make in the framework of drawing up the new budget, and much more, in order to find this R6 billion for the year and for it to remain for the future as well. In order to take the step such as finding the money and solving the issue from 1 October, for example, and somehow meet the poor pensioners halfway—this work was then begun to find these sources to resolve these issues from 1 January, I mean, 1 October.

Some deputies proposed the idea, which has been examined in the Central Committee, of taking a portion at the party dues—one-third, for example—and allocating it toward this, as one of the sources. The idea was supported in the Politburo and by all the oblast committee secretaries. We talked about this. It means that we will be able to allocate R500 million, and indeed we are already drawing up this decision. But you realize that if we decide on 1 October we have to find one-fourth of that 6 billion—1.5 billion.

As we know, the trade unions have also responded to this, and from their resources they also intend to allocate a portion of their membership dues—2 months' worth, I believe—and it seems a figure is emerging there. This is something they have to announce, but on a preliminary basis at least they mentioned the figure of R700 million.

I have read that I have just received a note from Comrade Karpov, chairman of the board of the Soviet Peace Fund: We inform the USSR Supreme Soviet that the board of the Soviet Peace Fund has decided to allocate R50 million from the Soviet Peace Fund's resources, consisting of voluntary contributions from millions of Soviet citizens, for the financing of measures connected with raising pensions for the poor strata of the population.

In short, it turns out that we already have almost 1.25 billion. I think we will find 250 million. The government will become involved in this business and will find it, so therefore we can find sources for meeting them halfway and taking this step from 1 October, before the law comes into effect but on the basis of that law's principles. It seems to me that since this is already acquiring real shape and we have ready means, so to speak, we can now instruct the government and the relevant committees to draw up a formula.

At the moment, we cannot adopt the law, comrades. To do that the entire range of issues and all the sources have to be studied, but if we proceed from this approach that we are inserting in the law we can already take this step for the fourth quarter, from 1 October. Therefore, if you have an understanding attitude toward this—I think this is precisely what the Supreme Soviet wanted; this is what things were coming to—we could instruct the government and the relevant committees to register these proposals so that we can adopt a decision before this session ends. [applause]

In my summary I have tried somehow to condense and assess these five most important points concerning, well, the most important issues that have been touched on there. In general, however, everything that has been said here must be examined. It is true that I do not know, Boris Nikolayevich, about...[Gorbachev changes thought] I want to speak to Comrade Alekseyev regarding certain issues that he has raised, so that certain comrades do not get the impression that some speeches are somehow being ignored. I think, Boris Nikolayevich, that the issue of privileges has, after all, been recorded at our Congress and Supreme Soviet. What?

[?Yeltsin] We have a proposal. Today [word indistinct].

[Gorbachev] The Congress has charged the Supreme Soviet with examining this. After all, the fact that I was forced to work on it at one stage in light of the fact that this problem causes concern to our society, and not without justification...[Gorbachev changes thought] I think we should study and submit this issue, because when I took charge of the initial dossiers, it turned out that our entire practice has in fact developed in this way. A whole range, so to speak, of benefits and privileges that are officially established has formed over many years. I am not speaking about the ones that are unofficial. This must be resolutely swept away and condemned; order must be imposed here and there is no need for any laws. As for all the rest, though, I think we are now creating a commission. Let it work on this and by the opening, by the start of work in the fall, we will already have considerations at our disposal. I think that at that fall session we will make all the decisions on this count. We will prepare proposals and be able to make decisions.

Regarding Comrade Alekseyev's statements, you know, in principle, when I listen as an individual, so to speak, I too am inspired by a declaration calling for something to be handed over—power, ownership, enterprises for the workers, and so forth.

But this is not a meeting. It is the Supreme Soviet. We must weigh every step, especially such steps as these. For this reason I would take your passionate proposals—and I immediately supported your first speech at the time, and I think I supported it just now—and transform them thus: to do thorough work on the swift preparation of all these laws, which in fact realize our common wishes which have been expressed here in many speeches by deputies.

Comrades, we cannot start along a path right away, according to our mood, and without studying the laws on issues which decide fate, which is, after all, the direction in which we are turning our economy, the country, the whole of life, our society, and everything. Where we have our say today and immediately raise our hands is done at meetings. No, but we are, after all, the Supreme Soviet.

I believe that, while taking all this on board—all the concern and agitation that were contained in the speeches of many of the deputies—we must preserve thoroughness and balance, and take this seriously and translate it into effective and active work, so that these answers to all the topical questions may appear immediately, very soon. Therefore, I should like to make this special proviso, not, for instance, because I do not wholeheartedly share it, I do fully share it, but I believe we must go about it in this thorough way, though Boris Nikolayevich has hinted that every commission is set up in order to drown the issue. I do not think [Gorbachev chuckles] having set up the commissions and committees, in the first place, which we have on a permanent basis, that they have been set up to drown all the issues. I think, on the contrary, that they exist to study them, and that shows that they are now increasingly coming to grips with them. In the second place there are the other commissions. It is, after all, on the instructions of the Congress that we are setting them up. I would not cast doubt here on the decisions made by the Congress, although I understand what guides the comrades to make such critical remarks. I take this in.

Well then, what should we do now? Perhaps a break? That is clear; I see it has already arrived. Perhaps if you share this approach, we should think it through and give it to you for examination first of all. Well, what instructions to give, on the miners, the disadvantaged, and, comrades, the making of recommendations about the activities of the soviets, that they should hold sessions and discuss all the topical issues that life has set before them? Maybe we should prepare that and put it to the deputies, and only then, on the basis of examination of those documents, discuss whether they meet with approval or not, or whether something needs to be done to supplement them, or whether to introduce other decisions of some kind.

[?Lukyanov] The government and three committees.

[Gorbachev] So the upshot then is that in that case we must give instructions to the government and to our three committees. I mean those on planning and budget, on reform, and on legislation.

[?Lukyanov] And on the soviets.

[Gorbachev] And on the soviets—to the four commissions. [deputies make indistinct remarks] Including that issue. Let them examine everything, including all that, let them examine it, yes.

[?Lukyanov] Consult.

[Gorbachev] Let them consult, and let them consult and invite the chairman of the republican supreme soviet presidia—they are all here—let them listen to their opinion, assess it and report to the Supreme Soviet. Because everyone has heard the mood, all the arguments on this subject have been expressed, and now we must go on to sum them up in definite. [sentence as heard]

Moscow TV Broadcasts Relay From 24 Jul Session

Gorbachev Opens Session

LD2407070989

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian 0640 GMT on 24 July begins broadcasting a live relay of today's Supreme Soviet session. Gorbachev opens the session. He talks about the miners' strike, saying:

"The situation this morning remains approximately as it was yesterday, which I spoke about in my speech. One may only add that virtually everywhere the work by the commissions and the center, with the participation of the miners' representatives and the strike committees, has led to the fact that in all regions joint protocols now have been agreed on, reflecting, on the basis of constructive and intense work, the issues that require a solution."

Kemerovo Oblast Discussed

LD2407094289

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0645 GMT on 24 July continues its live relay from the Kremlin of a joint session of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Gorbachev says he has a protocol signed by Slyunkov and other officials which contains five points. Kemerovo Oblast is to be transferred to financial autonomy; the Council of Ministers is to consider the matter. Other measures are to be taken with regard to raising the efficiency of industry in Kemerovo Oblast.

At 0647 GMT, Gorbachev says the protocols like the one in Kemerovo Oblast now have been signed in all regions.

There are matters to be resolved before 1 August, such as days off, etc. Gorbachev says the situation "still remains tense." Work needs to be done to involve all miners in the work of normalizing the situation. It will not be possible to make up entirely for the losses caused by the strike. I feel that the people have lost some confidence, but agreements between government representatives and miners have been reached. "We are emerging from a very severe crisis." "Perhaps this is the most serious test our country ever has undergone." I think you will agree that our perestroyka will yield results despite all the difficulties we are encountering in all spheres. What is especially important now is the support of the working class. In this sense, what has happened shows that workers have serious remarks with regard to the way our perestroyka is being implemented. Therefore, we, in the governments and in all structures of administration, must hear and pay attention to their demands. The conclusion is that we should carry out restructuring and economic reform with greater resolve. The country's administration should hold a constant dialogue with the working people. For "this most serious conflict," which has assumed such a grand scale, was made possible by failures to meet demands locally. We now must work most actively. Even if the strike had been contained just within the borders of the coal regions, metallurgy and power engineering still would have been affected.

At 0658 GMT, Gorbachev says: It is necessary to act together. So many problems have accumulated in society. A different kind of work, of productivity are needed. Of course, these problems cannot be resolved overnight. So we need to make the whole economy more active. We are steering out of it, but the situation still is tense.

The situation in Abkhaziya also is being tackled with the aid of all strata of society. A dialogue is now taking place among everyone inhabiting the autonomous republic. Although the situation is "very acute" and not everyone has taken a very helpful position, agreement has been reached. Today there are cases of disorganization in transportation work.

Gorbachev goes on: However, there are echoes in Tbilisi, where today the situation has worsened and become more acute than it was a few days ago. And even in that there are instances today of disruption of transportation. He says: I think that in this case, too, the leaders of the republic, acting jointly with the working people within the framework of political dialogue, will remove this tension that has arisen. And of course, much remains to be done by the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs regarding the confiscation of weapons, a great many of which are in the hands of the population.

Gorbachev Continues Address

LD2407095389

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0702 GMT on 24 July continues its live relay from the Kremlin of the joint session of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Mikhail Gorbachev continues his address, saying that in addition to events he has outlined there are other things to take care of. The main conclusion of all these events, the miner's strike in particular, is that a number of demands put forth are connected with improving the work of the organs of power.

Some people are standing in the way of perestroyka, Gorbachev says. The Ministry of the Coal Industry used to try and tackle all questions from above. It seems that the ministry was doing its best to prevent miners from being involved in organizing their mines. All these matters should be resolved. One cannot help seeing that local bodies should be more resolute in taking care of local problems. Miners have made demands to central republican and local state and party bodies. Party committees should hold report-back sessions.

The time has come for the work of local organs of power and party bodies to be supervised on a regular basis, Gorbachev adds. Sessions should now be held by deputies all over the country to monitor how decisions are implemented. The Supreme Soviet should consider this recommendation and if it adopts this proposal, we will then require deputies to hold sessions across the country. First we should tackle economic problems. Financial autonomy, the powers of local bodies, lease contracting—all these matters should now be the the supreme soviet's focus of attention, Gorbachev says in conclusion of his 35-minute address.

At 0715 GMT, Deputy Golik speaks, saying he has just been to the Kuzbass where he and other deputies talked with miners, and the oblast strike committee. "The situation is indeed going back to normal," Golik assures. The miners commissioned me to say that this was not a mutiny or a rebellion, nor was it spontaneous. The party and local bodies have failed to channel the miners' movement or to lead the people. "A strike is a howl of despair," Golik says. It is not true that local party bodies have been systematically failing to face up to the problems of the Kuzbass. Golik then lists occasions when local party bosses did report the problems there. During strikes for example, order was instituted in the streets; there were no drunks, for example. The working class can organize things well itself. No one is not speaking against Soviet power, but against specific party bosses and persons, Golik concludes.

At 0722 GMT, Deputy Vladimir Lushnikov begins speaking. He says he has also been to rallies of striking miners in the Pechora coal basin. The strike committees have indeed ensured a high degree of order at these rallies. The press has occasionally misinformed the public about the progress of the strikes, he says. PRAVDA did not give perfect information either. The miners themselves did not like this. A statement has been adopted by the strike committee of Vorkuta and Inta, which Lushnikov then reads out. "Along with this appeal I convey the demands of the strike committee of the town of Vorkuta, the town of Inta," Lushnikov continues. "Together with economic demands these collectives have also put forward a number of political demands, which I will read to you. First: That power really be transferred to the soviets, that the land be transferred to the peasants, that factories be transferred to the workers. Second: That elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet from public organizations be abolished. Third: That the article in the USSR Constitution on the leading and directing role of the party be abolished, that direct and secret elections should be held for the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, for the chairmen of local soviets, and for the heads of town and rayon departments of the Ministry of Internal Affairs with multiple candidates; that an end be put to the practice of depriving deputies of the floor at sessions of the congress and the USSR Supreme Soviet by means of a vote."

Lushnikov stops speaking at 0728 GMT.

Importance of Strike Activities Viewed

LD2407100689

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0728 GMT on 24 July continues its live relay from the Kremlin of the joint session of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Deputy Danchak takes the podium and says that he visited Karaganda when the strike was in full swing. The strike is now over. The main package of demands he has brought back includes that labor conditions should be improved. Danchak hands over the package of demands to Gorbachev without reading it further.

At 0731 GMT, Deputy Alekseyev says the strike is a signal that things are serious. He thinks they resort to half-measures in perestroyka instead of acting more resolutely. "I think that we have gotten carried away by political reform." But we should focus our efforts on the economic reform. Perhaps we in the Supreme Soviet should declare that economic power should go over to the working people, just like political power has been handed over to Soviets.

At 0737 GMT, Deputy Tadeush Pupkevich speaks, saying the Law on Enterprises has practically failed to work. This is one of the reasons for the situation that has arisen in the coal industry. Good laws are being passed and decisions made but they all have reservations and amendments which cancel the law itself and make it possible for laws not to be observed.

At 0742 GMT, Deputy Victor Kucherenko takes the podium. He says he has also visited strikers and talked to strike committees. Indeed the 47 articles signed in the protocol are just. One of the reasons for the situation that has arisen is that for decades the coal industry has been losing money, hence there have not been any resources to put back into it. We should draw up a law on strikes. Our difficulty is that every local decision has to have an endorsement from above, but of course, it is impossible for Moscow to administer every single collective in the country.

At 0748 GMT, Gorbachev reads out a note from the floor asking what resources will be used to meet the miners' demands. He makes no comment.

At 0750 GMT, Deputy Veniamin Yarin says he does not wish to dramatize what has happened in coal regions, but he welcomes it. People of all strata of society have stood up together during this experience. The people are truly exercising their power. At 0753 GMT, Deputy Kazimeras Uoka reads out some demands: to convene workers' congress and to drop certain provisions in laws on labor that are being drawn up. Trade unions do not enjoy confidence among the workers, he says. Workers should have channels of their own to represent them, then strikes will not be frequent. There must be a law about handing over means of production to collectives. It is necessary to make public the law on strikes if it is ready.

At 0758 GMT, Gorbachev interrupts to ask the precise figure of those working in industry. At 0759 GMT, Deputy Fedorov says the problem of the coal industry should be discussed at the same time as those of coalminers. It is not only the working class that is demonstrating, but the people. Fedorov goes on to quote Marx and Engels about misuse of privileges.

Donetsk's Boyko Speaks

LD2407102989

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Russian at 0809 GMT on 24 July continues its live relay from the Kremlin of the joint session of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Deputy Boyko from Donetsk says he has come to Moscow with a delegation from the oblast strike committee. The reasons for the strike are that it is no restructuring but semi-restructuring which is taking place there, democratization also is taking place at half speed; there are chronic shortages of basic products; and there is a lack of law and order. The problem lies in a lack of faith. The miners want guarantees. Elections for the local soviets are urgently needed so that there can be true restructuring in the localities. Boyko goes on to describe the losses of production at mines, which is a demoralizing factor. The miners receive no foreign currency for coal exports nor do they receive consumer goods. Boyko calls for the elimination of the oblast's coal production association so that there would be less centralization and more local financial autonomy.

At 0812 GMT Deputy Vladimir Leonchev from Kuybyshev Oblast stresses the responsiblity placed upon deputies by the people. Deputies should use their legislative capacities to regulate the phenomena taking place in the country. The miners strike represents the downfall of the command and administration system. He calls for measures for the dynamic development of the economy. Deputies are lagging behind the pace of developments in the country. The CPSU deputies, Leonchev says, should assemble outside the Supreme Soviet's working time to discuss the matter of strikes.

At 0816 GMT Deputy Anatoliy Vuychitskiy says that problems exist in other industries too. The Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers should think about these. The issue of reform in industrial production should be carried further.

At 0825 GMT Deputy Petr Klishchuk says that fine words must be backed up by deeds. A law on pensions should be adopted at this very Supreme Soviet session. The people would then understand that the deputies had actually achieved something during their weeks of discussion.

At 0830 GMT Deputy Vladimir Orlov says extraordinary economic and political events are taking place in the country. Ryzhkov should have spoken immediately after Gorbachev to explain what was going to be done in the economy. The strike committee leaders should be given an opportunity to address the Supreme soviet so that their views could be heard firsthand, Orlov says. A law on strikes is needed which would be part of the law on trade unions. The cadres issue needs to be resolved at the center and in the localities. There should be a vote of no confidence in the minister of the coal industry, he says. In the localities, too, there should be purges of officials who are responsible for the problems of the coal industry. There should be economic independence for mines. At 0835 GMT Gorbachev suggests a break and that discussion of the issue then be continued. A vote is taken that one more hour of discussion be devoted to the subject after the break.

At 0837 GMT the live relay is ended until after the recess.

Yeltsin Notes Crisis

LD2407110189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0909 GMT on 24 July resumes its live relay from the Kremlin of the joint session of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

At 0910 GMT, Deputy Vladimir Kirilov says the miners' strike is a reaction to the work of the congress; it displays dissatisfaction at what has been achieved. There should be economic independence, but it should be organized through a law on joint stock companies. Local soviets should be dissolved immediately to make way for the election of new ones, he concludes.

At 0912 GMT Deputy Pamfilova says there is a lack of awareness in the country of where it is heading. It is the task of deputies now to work out clear positions on this direction; people must know what will happen tomorrow. Recently there have been hasty decisions. Further activity should keep to a "golden mean." Many questions arise about the role of various bodies. This must be cleared up or else the "enormous administrative apparatus" will continue to hold things up, she says. The Council of Ministers must speed up work on the status of various ministries so that the transitional period is completed. There have been unfounded attacks on the party. This is the result of local party organs feeling unsure of themselves and putting the blame on the center. This should not be permitted. The party should set an example of organization and discipline for the rest of the country. There has been a flouting of laws already adopted which is sabotaging achievements, she concludes.

At 0920 GMT Deputy Konstantin Lubenchenko says the strikes are an expression of will; the solution of the problems lies in politics. While there is talk of the half measures which are being taken, it should not be forgotten how critical the situation really is. Lubenchenko agrees that problems should be resolved in the localities, but many officials there are not pulling their weight. Therefore it is essential to adopt a law on local elections as soon as possible. They should take place before the second session of the Congress of People's Deputies. On the strikes, Lubenchenko quotes Lenin on strikes being the workers' only weapon against bureaucratism. Why are trade unions in the USSR not defending the workers against these phenomena, he asks rhetorically.

At 0928 GMT Deputy Boris Yeltsin takes the podium. He says the reasons for the events which have taken place are various. They show that a crisis has come about in society, in the party. In 4 years, restructuring has not given people what they were promised. Elections of people's deputies were carried out along bureaucratic lines, he says. The apparatus has taken its revenge. The decisions which have been made by the mentral authorities, including those on the Kuzbass, have not been fulfilled, have been ignored, and have led to demands being put forward through strike committees. Yeltsin continues: There is a lack of confidence which must be stopped. This should be done through the USSR Supreme Soviet. Deputies should state firmly how they wish to improve the conditions of those people who have resorted to strikes. The agenda which has been approved on the Supreme Soviet's work is not in step with life. There should have been points on the agenda dealing with people's concerns, he says. neither the congress nor the Supreme Soviet has dealt with social justice. The soviets and party organs in the localities are in disarray; they are idle. The idleness of local organs has led to deputies being overwhelmed by petitions from the people. All of this has evoked the explosion in society which is being spoken of. If the correct decisions are made, Yeltsin concludes the Supreme Soviet can be the guarantor that what is needed in the localities will be carried out. He stops speaking at 1934 GMT.

Estonian Independence Discussed

LD2407112489

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0935 GMT on 24 July continues its live relay from the Kremlin of the joint session of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Deputy Kolesnikov [first name not given] says there is insufficient confidence in the people's deputies. The strikes are an alarm bell for deputies who say that the worker is the master. What happens if the master strikes? Deputies are not keeping up with the developments of real life. There should be local elections but they should be implemented through territorial constituences, he says.

At 0940 GMT Deputy Boris Rogatin calls for a group to be formed to determine the agenda of the second congress of people's deputies. Deputies should combine their efforts with those of local officials to ensure that things are carried out in the localities.

At 0945 GMT Deputy Yevgeniy Kogan talks about the situation in the Baltic republics, which he sees as even more serious than the strikes in the country's coal fields. There are slogans for the transformation of the country into a confederation. He speaks in particular of Estonia, where there has been a constitutional conflict with the union; a law has been introduced on making Estonian the official language and there have been other reforms.

Various appeals have been made to the center to satisfy popular demands, but there has been no response. Last week there were meetings in Estonia which appealed to the Supreme Soviet for help in resolving the civil rights issues. In Estonia there is now a strong movement calling for complete independence from the USSR, which would not be to the area's advantage, Kogan says. "The events taking place in Estonia are receiving proper attention on the part of the USSR governmnet." The people must be told honestly where they are heading. The Supreme Soviet must show firm control from above over what is happening in the country.

Kogan speaks nationalism in Estonia, which could lead to a mass exodus of refugees and which, if repeated throughout the country, could have very serious effects. A commission should be created to travel to Estonia and to stop the process of infringement of civil rights, Kogan concludes.

At 0955 GMT Deputy Rayymkul Satybaldiyev from Kirghizia speaks of the social consequences of a coal deficit; schools and hospitals could be deprived of heating.

At 1000 GMT Deputy Ivan Vnebrachnyy speaks of social problems in various industries, dealing in particular with the railways. He speaks of locomotive drivers who had to drive trains without having taken a break—a dangerous situation. He appeals to all railwaymen nevertheless to display endurance and to listen to the new candidate for minister of railways on how he intends to resolve the branch's problems.

At 1006 GMT Deputy Siym Kallas from Estonia laments the concentration of funds at the center of the economy. People want to know where their money is being used. All power should be decentralized to the republics, soviets, and enterprises. Only then can socioeconomic problems be resolved. He says he does not believe that there is a threat of bloodshed in Estonia.

Gorbachev Summarizes Session

LD2407114189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1009 GMT on 24 July continues its live relay from the Kremlin of the joint session of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

At 1010 GMT Mikhail Gorbachev says that the debate has ended and that he will attempt to sum it up. he refers to the miners' strike, saying everyone is concerned but he praises the responsibility shown by the miners which allows a solution to be sought. All the proposals received should be given to committees for coordination and further discussion. The grievances of the miners must be the subject of very serious discussion, he says. Local soviets should be instructed to hold meetings on this subject so that there will be an improvement in the situation. Trade union organs must also consider their role. The issue of local elections is coming up again and again, Gorbachev continues. The republics will tackle these problems. The republics have come out against the Supreme Soviet deciding this when the republics held a meeting on Saturday, attended by Lukyanov, to discuss it. It appears that the laws will vary from republic to republic. The republics intend to hold elections at different times. The role of public organizations was also discussed. All the republics intend to publish their proposals on local elections in the near future for public discussion. It would be wise for the Supreme Soviet to show confidence in the republics over this, Gorbachev adds.

There have been many criticisms of the activity of the center and these should be taken into account so that both the center and the localities do what is necessary to resolve the situation, he continues. Everyone understands the seriousness of this. The Supreme Soviet can do everything within its powers to adopt laws on property, a unified tax system, and a new law on trade unions which is suited to contemporary life. This should cover the solution of labor disputes and would open a path to economic and political reform.

Many deputies have called for a law to be adopted on the economically disadvantaged before the end of the current session, Gorbachev says. There is a congress decision to prepare such a law so that it comes into force next year, and this decision should be adhered to. Trade unions have responded to this by offering R700 million from their funds toward the cost of this law.

In reply to Yeltsin's remarks about privileges in society, Gorbachev says it is a matter of concern. The situation came about over many years of official blessing. A commission will work on this matter and by the start of the autumn session there should be proposals on it, Gorbachev concludes.

At 1045 GMT, an unidentified deputy from Novyy Urengoy says he agrees with most of what Gorbachev said, but not with that section dealing with local elections. he thinks the holding of local elections should be decided at the center, not by the republics.

At 1046 GMT Deputy Viktor Medikov says he has telegrams calling upon the apparatus to operate with greater urgency.

At 1048 GMT Moscow Television Service ends its live relay while Medikov is still speaking.

Moscow Radio on 24 Jul Supreme Soviet Session

Role of Local Deputies Viewed

LD2407195289

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1400 GMT on 24 July broadcasts a recording of the joint session of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet held in the Kremlin.

From 1400 until 1715 GMT the recording repeats the accounts carried live by Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0640 GMT and 0910 GMT. Following Deputy Viktor Medikov's speech, the second session ends.

At 1715 GMT the recording of the Supreme Soviet's third session of the day begins. Gorbachev opens this third session with a 3-minute speech listing some of the bills to be considered by the legislature.

An unidentified deputy raises the question of ethnic minorities and a second unidentified deputy speaks about procedural matters.

At 1721 GMT Gorbachev invites other speakers. Another unidentified speaker raises procedural matters.

At 1723 GMT an unidentified speaker, possibly Shevchenko, comments on sovereign rights of the union republics. She says that Ukrainian voters are perfectly able to decide when their elections should be held, rather than having elections thrust on them from Moscow. She pleads for increased local decision making. The following speaker disagrees.

At 1727 GMT Deputy Dmitriy Smirnov from Kharkov speaks on election regulations. Another speaker calls for new labor law. An unidentified speaker talks about the differing rights of all-union and republican bodies on various matters.

At 1732 GMT debate on rights of local and national bodies continues. One deputy speaks of violations of laws by local bodies which should be sorted out at the national level. An unidentified Lithuanian deputy speaks about the need for increased social benefits.

An unidentified deputy speaks about the nature of representation locally, and the need for local independence. Pensions and other benefits should be increased.

At 1740 GMT Deputy Valentin Tetenov from Perm talks about state and private enterprise and complains about the excess profits made by cooperatives. Deputy Igor Zelinskiy from Odessa speaks about the need to regulate local elections from the center. Deputy Vladimir Prokushev from Bashkiriya talks about laws on representation of public organizations. He atttacks the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions proposed law against strikes.

At 1747 GMT another deputy raises the election law again. He says that local officials should be elected unanimously. Deputy (?Sobchak) says that a new electoral law would contribute to a new Soviet Constitution. Another deputy raises the question of Nagorno-Karabakh and says the situation is very grave and must be sorted out soon.

At 1753 GMT Deputy Mikhail Mikheyev from Yakut talks about the powerlessness of local soviet deputies. An unidentified deputy says he thinks certain bills should be debated first. He raises the problem of guaranteeing minority ethnic rights. Another deputy raises the question of how perestroyka has progressed at different rates in different parts of the USSR. He asks Baltic MP's to heed the views of deputies from other parts of the country about the need for all-union measures. He raises the question of the lowly status of the local soviet deputy and his lack of rights. Another deputy continues this discussion.

Lukyanov Assesses Decrees

LD2407205589

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1801 GMT on 24 July continues its recorded relay from the Kremlin of the third session of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

An unidentified deputy continues the debate with reference to the situation in Abkhaziya. An unidentified deputy from Minsk draws attention to deputies to Shevchenko's speech, stressing that there is no indifference to the way local soviet elections are run in his republic.

At 1804 GMT a deputy from Karelia, speaks. He refers to Karelia as "a former soviet republic" and Gorbachev expresses puzzlement at this. The deputy continues the discussion on local soviet elections, calling for urgent need to review the question of a base for the Soviet economy.

A deputy from Georgia talks about the need for a law on electoral rights, which he terms "a question of principle". The whole interethnic question should be solved by the republics themselves without external interference, he says. He agrees with the Abkhaz delegate on this matter.

At 1808 GMT Gorbachev says the debate on this question should be summarized. What is the base for the electoral system? He refers to Article 13 of the Constitution. He asks: Does this article suit us today based on current experiences? Apparently this article is in need of alteration, he says, and asks deputies if we have the right to change the law here. We are in the right, he says, to prepare a draft on these alterations.

At 1813 GMT an unidentified deputy agrees absolutely with Gorbachev that the Supreme Soviet has the right to make these changes. Deputy Vladimir Yudin of Magadan proposes a review of the changes in the Constitution over the next week and if there is a majority of deputies in favor then the change should be adopted.

At 1815 GMT Gorbachev agrees with Deputy Yudin's suggestions they will be written in and then voted upon. Gorbachev goes on to speak about the sequence of items on the agenda. He reads out an additional point on the agenda referring to rights of republics. Gorbachev continues reading out further additions and amendments to items on the agenda.

At 1821 GMT Deputy Andreyev from Moscow speaks about Point 3 and Lukyanov's reference to measures to improve pensions. Gorbachev says that the meeting had already agreed on the point he raised.

At 1823 GMT another deputy from Moscow refers to Point 4 and calls for an amendment regarding the date of the session. Gorbachev calls for Finance Minister Pavlov to come down and answer some questions about pensions and benefits.

Pavlov says he hasn't worked out all the details yet on pensions but these are now being worked on. Pavlov says R1.6 billion is now being spent on retirees who are less well-off. Pavlov answers a question on minimum pensions.

At 1829 GMT Deputy Aleksandr Pavliy from Donetsk continues the debate on pensions and makes a proposal on payments. Deputy Mikhail Bocharov from Moscow refers to a visit he made to Leningrad at which time he was surprised at the plight of some retirees. At 1832 GMT Gorbachev suggests passing the question of retiree benefits to the government for discussion within committees. Then we can come to a decision. Gorbachev puts the question of additions and amendments to a vote. There are none against and seven abstentions. The Supreme Soviet decision including these additions and amendments is passed.

At 1837 GMT Gorbachev passes the floor to Lukyanov who informs deputies that they have in their hands 18 decrees due for adoption. He talks first about the decree on lease-contracting, then on taxes and cooperatives, housing construction and rights of collective farms, violations of road safety laws, taxes for road users, criminal responsibility for state crimes.

At 1900 GMT Lukyanov is still continuing through the list of decrees, with their additions and amendments, which are to be approved by the deputies. He goes on to touch upon the changes in the decree on people repressed in the 1930's and 1940's. He says that by 1 July over 260,000 people had been rehabilitated in the USSR.

Lukyanov moves on to other decrees regarding the services sphere, trade-union controllers. A number of decrees concern relations with socialist countries and reductions in defense spending. He refers to the March decree to this effect and the reductions in Soviet troop strength by 500,000 men and the 11 July decree on discharge of young servicemen to continue education. He then goes on to talk about decrees on joint enterprises with the socialist countries.

At 1915 GMT Lukyanov says there are obviously so many decrees that we cannot discuss them all today. He picks out various points from selected decrees and certain proposals made in commissions and committees. Most of these proposals have come in literally over the last couple of days so there is much work to be done in examining them.

At 1922 GMT Lukyanov ends his speech; Gorbachev says further debate on this issue will continue tomorrow.

Nishanov makes a few announcements about meetings of various committees and the venues for them before the session recording ends at 1926 GMT.

TASS Summarizes 24 Jul Supreme Soviet Debate

LD2407132289 Moscow TASS in English 1317 GMT 24 Jul 89

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow July 24 TASS—Today's discussion at the USSR Supreme Soviet on the recent miners' strike blossomed out into a nearly four-hour-long heated debate on the situation in the country and the fate of perestroyka. The debate ensued after Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev addressed the session with a report on the situation in the country's coal-producing regions.

Many deputies supported miners' demands and described them as justified. Deputy Vladimir Lushnikov from Komi autonomous republic, noted that the miners' strike had underlined the crisis of the administrative-command system of management and that the efforts of the Supreme Soviet and the country's government to break it lacked resolve. The deputy read out the address of the miners of the Pechora coal basin in the north of the USSR. Apart from economic demands, they also contained political ones, including the actual transition of power to the soviets, cancellation of elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet from mass organisations, abrogation of an article of the USSR Constitution on the party's guiding role, and election of the president and heads of local bodies of government by direct and secret ballot.

The activity of local government and party leaders was sharply criticised by Deputy Yuriy Golik from Kemerovo. He favoured holding elections to local government councils this year. Many deputies agreed with this view and said that the early elections would help restore trust in local authorities. A proposal was made to pass a vote of no-confidence on Soviet Coal Minister Mikhail Shchadov.

Sergey Alekseyev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Legislation, Law and Order, called the strike an alarming symptom of the unfortunate situation in the country. He attributed it mainly to incomplete and half-baked reforms. The deputy proposed that the Supreme Soviet concentrate on economic transformations and elaborating laws on economic reform.

The situation in the country, Boris Yeltsin said, testifies to a crisis in society, in the party and in tackling social, national and other issues. The bureaucracy in the centre and periphery decided to take revenge following the elections of peoples' deputies. Failure to fulfil numerous resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee, the Council of Ministers and joint documents prompted people to advance political, economic and social demands. In this situation, Yeltsin said, it is necessary to restore people's lost trust. The Supreme Soviet should speak out clearly and firmly on what top priority laws should be adopted and how the plight of people forced to go to extremes should be alleviated.

The speaker noted that several specific laws, drafted in advance in the interests of working people, should have been passed at the Congress of People's Deputies. However, the congress did not adopt a document promoting social justice and cancelling perks and privileges. It only set up a commission which is widely regarded by deputies as further delay.

Summing up the discussion, Mikhail Gorbachev took note of improvement in the situation in the coal-mining regions. This, he said, was evidence of the responsible and balanced nature of the miners' actions. He suggested that the miners' proposals should be submitted for immediate consideration by the parliament's permanent bodies and the government.

Commenting on deputies' proposals to bring the date of local government elections forward, Gorbachev said that union republics should themselves decide when and how the elections should be held. The USSR Supreme Soviet must show trust in them, the president continued. However, he added, it is necessary for the elections to carry on the process of overall democratisation of the country's election law.

Dwelling further on the issue of legislative acts, Gorbachev spoke in favour of drafting laws on ownership in the USSR, on land and land-use, on lease and regional cost-accounting. He also urged the immediate elaboration of new laws on trade unions and the procedure for settling disputes involving labour collectives. living standards of low-income groups stressing that the decisions of the first Congress of People's Deputies provided for such measures beginning next year. However the first step in this direction, he noted, can be made as early as October 1 this year. As one of the sources of financing the president cited the allocation of 500 million rubles of Communist Party fees (a relevant decision has been taken already) and part of the union fees and finances of mass organisations. Thus the decision can be taken at the current session of Parliament, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed.

After this the day session ended.

Supreme Soviet Debates, Endorses Resolution

LD2407161789 Moscow TASS in English 1546 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 24 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The USSR Supreme Soviet today endorsed a resolution on organising work to fulfill instructions given by the Congress of People's Deputies. The document takes account of remarks and proposals made by the deputies during the July 19 discussion.

The resolution envisages, in particular, the priority drafting of USSR laws on ownership, on land and land-use, on lease and lease- holding relations, on a single taxation system, on regional cost- accounting, on local self-management and local economy. Besides, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet was instructed together with parliament committees and commissions to prepare a draft law on changes and amendments to the country's Constitution.

The resolution also suggests that the Council of Nationalities elaborate proposals on more clearly delimiting the terms of reference of the USSR and union republics, proceeding from the fact that the latter themselves exercise state power on their territories and tackle all matters lying outside the authority of the USSR.

A keen discussion followed the proposal by many deputies to include the draft foundations of the Soviet election system among the list of more important bills. The deputies contended that this would enable to avoid many shortcomings which surfaced during this spring's elections of USSR People's Deputies.

Summing up the discussion, Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev proposed changes and amendments to the text of USSR Constitution that will lay down the foundations for the election law in republics but leave the union republics to fill in the details.

Then the deputies heard the report by Anatoliy Lukyanov, first vice president of the USSR Supreme Soviet, on endorsing decrees of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Burlatskiy Explains Supreme Soviet Appeal

LD2507094289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0830 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Correspondent Lyudmila Semina report from USSR Supreme Soviet Session in the Moscow Kremlin]

[Text] Today's morning sitting of the session started with a discussion of an appeal by the country's deputies to the Soviet people. The need for such an appeal was caused by the situation in the country: strikes and instability in a number of republics. Deputy Fedor Burlatskiy presented the draft appeal. During the discussion it was decided to work on the text of the appeal over the course of today and to adopt it. Let's listen to the argumentation by People's Deputy Burlatskiy as to why there is a need for such an appeal to the people:

[Begin Burlatskiy recording] The idea is connected firstly with showing that the Supreme Soviet fully appreciates the whole seriousness of the situation that has now arisen. Secondly, that the Supreme Soviet takes on itself the whole measure of responsibility for the situation. This is very important. It takes on itself the whole measure of responsibility: It will monitor the activity of the government and other bodies in order to satisfy the legitimate demands of the workers. Thirdly, the Supreme Soviet has already done something—and this is mentioned—and will do something, and, most importantly, guarantees radical changes. In our view, in the current situation what the comrades here spoke about must be done: give hope and belief that the transformations being demanded by the people will be implemented. That is what we lack now. The people understand that it is impossible to satisfy all their needs immediately and directly. But to give hope and faith that it is the Supreme Soviet, as the main body of power, given authority by the Congress of People's Deputies, which is taking on itself responsibility for this, this is the main idea of the document. It will bring a stabilizing factor into the situation, and will give us time so that we don't hastily make laws haphazardly—we've already done that many times during the course of perestroyka—but approach a structural transformation of the country in a serious and thorough way.

There is now a danger of improvising laws, comrades. Nowhere in the world are things done that way. So, comrades, we have to ensure the possibilities for working out each law in a serious way, and to give the people the hope that these laws will indeed serve their interests. [end recording]

I will say that in the discussions on the appeal the idea came up most frequently that a very important clause on the need for holding elections to local soviets ahead of time in a dignified and democratic way must be registered, since it is only with the help of the local soviets that parliament can act effectively and get results.

Meskhetian Turks Commission Meets

PM0607132189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 2

[G. Shipitko report: "Commission at Work"]

[Text] As is known, the USSR Supreme Soviet formed a commission on the problems of the Meskhetian Turkish population. It had to be created because of the tragic events in Fergana.

A commission sitting, which was opened by R. Nishanov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, took place 29 July. He expressed concern about the Meskhetian Turks' present situation and reported the measures being taken to stabilize the situation in the republic, and to compensate the victims for material losses. Soviet and economic organs were also asked to give every kind of assistance and support to the migrants from Uzbekistan.

Then representatives of soviet organs where the Meskhetian Turks are temporarily located delivered reports. It was noted that living and working conditions are being created for all of them. Here the valid demand was made that the Uzbek government must assume all the assistance and compensation costs.

R. Stepanov, deputy chairman of the kray soviet executive committee, drew attention to the fact that Uzbekistan had purposely created conditions for the departure of Meskhetian Turks to other regions in the country and, in particular, Krasnodar Kray. Moreover, the republic's leadership did not give advance notice to those to whom the refugees were dispatched on special flights, thus exacerbating the people's already difficult position. A. Atadzhanov, first deputy chairman of the Uzbekistan Council of Ministers, who was present at the commission, was unable to give satisfactory explanations for these facts.

Yu. Sarvarov, member of the commission and a spokesman for the Meskhetian Turkish population, expressed thanks for the comprehensive assistance given to the people who were forced to leave their homes, and expressed confidence that the people, who were forcibly evicted from their homes in the repression years, would be rapidly rehabilitated.

In the next few days the commission is going to Georgia and Uzbekistan, where it will study the situation which has taken shape around the fate of the Meskhetian Turks and will assess the tragic events in Fergana.

Coal Miners Strikes Abate Throughout Country

Ryzhkov Meets Donbass Miners

LD2407191889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 24 Jul 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A meeting was held today in the Kremlin between Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and representatives of Donbass strike committees. [video shows Ryzhkov seated inside a room with a group of men]

The miners talked about the acute situation that has taken shape in the basin, and set out the demands of the labor collectives. Social and economic problems that worry miners most were discussed, primarily the improvement of everyday work and rest conditions;

pension provisions; increased pay; the offer to miners, in accordance with the Law on State Enterprises of full economic and legal independence; and the adjustment of their mutual relations, not only with higher economic but also local soviet bodies.

The miners expressed serious grievances connected with poor management and bureaucracy in resolving vitally important questions, as well as thoughtlessness in official attitudes toward people's needs. The miners' demands are laid out in a protocol on agreed measures between the miners' strike committee, the USSR Council of Ministers commission, and the All-Union Central Council Of Trade Unions.

During the discussion of the problems raised by the miners, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov noted that in connection with the miners' strike an extremely tense situation has arisen, which is creating great difficulties for the national economy. At the same time, the miners' demands are to a great extent well-founded, and it is essential to resolve the problems that have accumulated in the most urgent fashion, he said.

A concrete program of action relating to the whole of the country's coal industry was worked out at the meeting. Protocols of agreement between government commissions and miners of the country's coal basins have been adopted.

Taking into account the fact that the meeting reached mutually acceptable solutions, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov called on the miners of Donbass and other coal basins to halt the strike and to return to work.

Taking part in the meeting were Comrade Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Minsiters; Korkin, first deputy minister of the USSR coal industry; and USSR people's deputies Boyko and Saunin.

Further on Ryzhkov-Miners Meeting

LD2507092889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0230 GMT 25 Jul 89

[From the "120 Minutes" program]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Here is commentator Aleksandr Krutov. Yesterday you attended Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov's meeting with representatives of the Donbass strike committee. This is an extensive report so we could not include it in the "Vremya" program, so maybe you could comment on it now?

[Krutov] Yes, because, as the saying goes, such events fortunately do not often occur in our country, in our life. But today Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov will have another meeting, with the Vorkuta miners.

I would like to speak about yesterday's meeting. From the information you have just read, you know, comrades, that unfortunately not all mines have started work. You know, the miners say: Give us guarantees, give us guarantees that all promises will become deeds. Although it has been officially announced throughout the country that the measures drawn up for solving the miners' problems are valid for all regions, people do not believe it. This was discussed at the meeting of representatives of the Donbass strike committees with Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov.

What do the miners want? Basically they want the same things the Kuzbass miners want: economic independence of enterprises, real financial autonomy, remuneration according to labor, reduction of the administrative apparatus, the possibility of disposing of their revenues themselves, solution of social issues, the problem of days off, increased pensions, holidays—in other words the things that have been proposed in our economic reform and the focus of perestroyka in the country.

I think you will agree with me that one can understand people, for many issues that could have been solved by ministries, by local authorities, or by trade unions are not being solved. People are unhappy about the fact that this reform is developing slowly; they are unhappy that it is developing half-heartedly. Of course, strikes are not the best way out of the situation that has arisen, and the miners themselves admit that by saying it is the situation in the industry and in their living and working conditions that has forced them to take this desperate step. Because the local authorities are not solving all this, or are solving it very badly, they have come here to solve these problems with the Council of Ministers chairman. [video shows miners meeting with Ryzhkov]

[Begin Ryzhkov recording] Not maybe, but for certain. Those collectives that have sent you here have certain doubts: Will this be fulfilled, the things you agreed upon directly in Donbass, in the labor collectives? This is how I understand the main goal of your visit and the main goal our meeting today, because a great mistrust in the local authorities and local leaders is evident. Even during these 30 to 40 minutes we have been meeting I could feel that, indeed, many issues have come to a head, and I feel that, along with many economic problems that are set out in your documents, there are many problems of such a nature as, for example, mutual relations between a leader of the working class or a trade union and a labor collective, and so forth.

What I would like to say—I understand that you are expecting an answer from me, and I understand that you must, as the saying goes, brief the collectives that have sent you here on this answer—we believe that in practice there should be two documents, if it can be put this way.

First, there should be a decision by the USSR Government which I must sign, a decision. This decision should include clauses that have been signed by comrades, but only such clauses that I have the right to sign. I have clear constitutional duties. I have the right to such and such matter, as the Council of Ministers chairman, but I have no right to another part, according to the constitution. There is a strict demarcation of legislative and executive power. I represent our country's highest executive power. Therefore, everything that concerns all the issues that are within the government's competence and that we have a right to solve without anyone's consent—well, within reasonable limits, of course—we must, as the saying goes, include them all in a decision by the USSR Council of Ministers, which should be signed and which will be mandatory for the Donbass, Kuzbass, Pechora, and other coal regions of our country. We believe that such a document can be formulated and signed within 10 days. Second, now while examining all protocols and, I repeat, while sorting things out, the lion's share will be the government's decisions, of course, but some part will go to the Supreme Soviet. There was just a discussion about this at the Supreme Soviet session. The issues we cannot solve, that is those on which we have no constitutional right, must be sent as soon as it becomes clear after 1, 2, 3 days; we will be submitting them immediately to the Supreme Soviet. For example, the issue of pensions is an issue for the Supreme Soviet. The government cannot solve it. This is a law, a USSR law that must be changed. For my part, I ask you in earnest to convey to the labor collectives the following: Comrades, one has to start work where work has not yet been started. [end recording]

[Krutov] I would like to add that all the demands made and all the measures outlined for solving the miner's problems relate to all of the country's regions, that is to all the miners of our country. All their demands will be satisfied and the conditions of their life and work will be improved. Following the meeting I asked (Aleksey Dmitriyevich Bokarev), chairman of the Donbass territorial strike committee: Aleksey Dmitriyevich, are you satisfied with the meeting with Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov? He said: Yes, I am satisfied; Nikolay Ivanovich is a man of deeds, and we hope that everything will be all right.

Now, in about 2 hours Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov has another meeting, this time with representatives of the Vorkuta miners.

[Announcer] In other words, everything is going on as before.

[Krutov] No, it is not that everything is going on. On the contrary, everthing is drawing to a close, thank God, as the saying goes. Everything is drawing to a close. Simply, there is yet another meeting and I am going there now. We will report on this meeting, too, in our news bulletins.

[Presenter] And in today's "Vremya" program, too, I think.

[Krutov] Of course.

Vorkuta Miners End Strikes

LD2407200789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1923 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, 24 Jul (TASS)—TASS correspondents report:

Vorkuta (Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, northern Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)—The Vorkuta miners listened with great attention to Mikhail Gorbachev's interview on central television and to his speech at the USSR Supreme Soviet session. The city strike committee decided to call off a warning strike at all Vorkuta mines and enterprises and to resume work on 24 July.

The decision to call off the strike was also made by the strike committee in connection with the fact that USSR People's Deputy Vladimir Lushnikov spoke today at the session and conveyed the demands of the miners of Vorkuta and Inta to the Presidium. The city strike committee and the government commission proposed that the country's Supreme Soviet should solve all the questions posed by the miners of the polar region within a period of 10 days from the time that the package of demands was conveyed to it saying that otherwise the miners reserve the right to resume the strike.

Donetsk (Ukraine)—A protocol was published in the oblast newspapers today on coordinated matters between the Donetsk miners' strike committee, and the commission of the USSR Council of Ministers, and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. Having received guarantees that the coordinated matters will be resolved without delay, the miners of Donetsk are returning to work.

About 50 of 121 mines were not working their first shift today. As a result of the specifics of production, the disruption has had a pernicious effect on the state of the mining industry in many places. Although there were no accidents in the mines, 40 percent of the drifts found themselves in complex conditions, and it will take time to restore them. This is what the miners who have gone underground are engaged in.

The losses in extraction already amount to about 1,020,000 tonnes in Donetsk Oblast alone. Meanwhile there remains in the depots, as previously, a considerable quantity of fuel that has not been dispatched to consumers. In places it is catching fire due to spontaneous combustion. At the same time the strike committees which have put out pickets, are restricting the unloading and are permitting its dispatch only on urgent orders for associated enterprises: representatives of power stations, coking by-product works, hospitals, and childrens' institutions. The population is also suffering, there is already a shortfall of 65,000 tonnes in supplies for domestic needs The situation is worsened by unsatisfactory work by the transport sector and a shortage of empty railway cars.

Voroshilovgrad—The situation remains complex in the oblast: For several days now 47 of the 93 mines have not been working, with 26,800 people on strike. On Sunday a government commission headed by Lev Ryabev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, arrived in the oblast center. The government commission members started working out agreements with the strike committees.

All the Krasnodon mines have resumed working. During the night of 23-24 July in the town of Pervomaysk where there was a meeting of representatives of coal enterprises of Pervomaysk, Kirovsk, and Bryanka, it was decided by an absolute majority of votes to stop the strike and to start working at 8 o'clock in the morning. Dialogue with the miners is continuing, however.

Dnepropetrovsk—On Monday there was little change in Pavlograd. The workforce of the mines of the so-called Pershotravenskaya group of the Pavlogradugol Association resumed work this morning. The general director of the association reported that the remaining mines of the western Donbass could also be starting work. However, people are demanding a confirmation from the government that the agreements signed in the Donbass between the government commission and the strike committee would also apply to the western Donbass, which has its own specific features.

Further on End of Vorkuta Strike

LD2507100889 Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Excerpt] In Vorkuta in the north of the USSR the mineworkers' committee has announced its decision to suspend the warning strike at the local coalmining area. The miners are satisfied with the outcome of Monday's debates on strikes held by the Supreme Soviet which recognised miners' demands as justified. Last night reports on work resumption arrived from Donetsk, Krasnodon, and other coal mining centers in the Ukraine. [passage omitted]

Kuzbass Resumes Work, Exceeds Target

LD2407212489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 24 Jul 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Kuzbass miners, for the first time after returning to the pit, producd above-plan production. The government commission headed by Comrade Slyunkov continues it work in the Kemerovo Oblast. Today it will conclude its meetings with leaders, the aktiv, and the working collectives themselves in the oblast's towns and enterprises where a lot of problems have accumulated due to the slow progress of economic reform and the neglect of the social sphere. A joint examination and interpretation of the situation is helping to work out on the spot realistic and effective measures to remove difficulties on the path of perestroyka.

Kazakhstan Mines Resume Operation

LD2407212389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 24 Jul 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] All 26 mines of the Karagandaugol Association are working normally today. The path toward the mutual understanding, and constructive solutions of urgent questions was not simple. On Saturday, Comrade Nazarbayev, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, arrived in Shakhtinsk, where a detailed conversation with miners took place. At a conference held in the party obkom on 23 July, Comrade Nazarbayev underlined in particular the fact that one of the points of the protocol of conciliatory measures concerns the responsibility of leaders of oblast organizations and enterprises for the protracted nonsolution of socioeconomic question and the carrying out of alternative elections.

Rostov Mine Continues Strike

LD2407221389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] The biggest coalmine in Rostov Oblast, the "60th anniversary of the Lenin Komsomol," continues the strike. Our correspondent Nikolay Chebotarev reports:

[Chebotarev] Trains stand in the sidings awaiting coal. How long must they wait? With this thought I got into conversation with chairman of the strike committee, (Mikhail Ivanovich Azhenenko).

[Begin recording] Mikhail Ivanovich, what demands do you think must be satisfied and why is the mine still not working?

[(Azhenenko)] The main demand is economic autonomy of the mine, consolidated by the considerations made by the administration of the mine, namely, an increase in the earnings fund, reduction in the plan to mine 2.7 million tonnes, and ensuring conditions for continued work.

[Chebotarev] So far, only the breakdown service teams are going down into the mine to maintain the mining equipment at the coal faces. The strike committee is sitting almost continuously. More and more fresh demands appear. But in the committee itself there is no unity. In a previous report we presented a committee chairman. Today, he gives up his position. I ask (Aleksandr Grigoryevich Kudrya) why.

[(Kudrya)] First, I can say that here in the first shift I called on everyone to have a reasonable attitude to the strike, because in a socialist state, we are owners of our enterprise. I said we should not produce a single ton of coal, we should not blunt the edge of our demands, do no tunnelling, but we should carry out all the maintenance work because tomorrow we'll all be back in the pit.

I was not supported. They said they would strike and not do anything except breakdown work. Breakdown work is done at all pits. Decent owners did preparatory work because everyone knew that they'd be back at the pit tomorrow.

[Chebotarev] Here is (Konstantin Nikitovich Lashchenko), general director of Gukovugol.

[(Lashchenko)] The mine put forward 70 demands. We compiled an order giving solutions to these questions and distributed it around the association and the mine. In fact the strike committee agreed to the solutions set out in these orders. Four points remain, which the chairman of the strike committee has just mentioned, but they of course require a competence higher than we can provide before a solution is reached. [end recording]

Strikers Await Coal Minister

LD2507103289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0330 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] This morning our correspondent Nikolay Chebotarev contacted (Vladimir Gennadiyevich Zaytsev), director of the "60th Anniversary of the Lenin Komsomol" colliery, who said that the people's mood has changed, people are tired, they want to work, but the strike committee has decided not to resume work yet. They are awaiting the arrival of Shchadov, the Minister of Coal Industry, who is now in the Donbass. The coalminers are linking his arrival with the solution of the problems which have accumulated.

Inta Miners Resume Work

LD2507053689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0400 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Text] The first thousand tons of fuel since the strike have by now been produced by miners of the Pechora coalfield. Yevgeniy Zubarev [as heard], our correspondent in Syktyvkar, reports that all the mines in Inta have started work. Miners went down the coal-face after thay had seen that Vladimir Lushnikov, USSR people's deputy, a young cutter from the Vostochnaya mine, had fulfilled their demands. He spoke at the session of the country's Supreme Soviet and handed over a package of demands and requests of Inta workers as he was supposed to. People feel the hope that, at last, they will receive a timely and concrete answer to all their questions.

But the miners of the neighboring Vorkuta are still in doubt—they hold rallies and engage in arguments. Late at night, at the last moment, the city strike committee suddenly canceled its initial decision to call off the strike at all the enterprises in the town. At the moment, only 3 of the 13 mines in Vorkuta are working.

Commentary Assesses Strikes

PM2407082789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Commentary by Valeriy Vyzhotovich under the rubric "Events: Essentials and Opinions": "Clearing the Waste"]

[Text] The miners' strikes have been going on for a week now. The first and simplest consideration, one that everyone will understand, I hope, is that it would be better if they had never happened. But they have. Whether one likes it or not. Not a "work interruption," as such incidents used to be bashfully called, but a strike—a new word in our political vocabulary.

The chain reaction of the events that started in the Kuzbass and then spread to mines in Donetsk, Rostov-na-Donu, Pavlograd, Karaganda, Vorkuta, and Lvov, still goes on. The editorial office teleprinter is churning out reports in which only the names of the cities and mines are different, the rest being the same from report to report. In all cases the miners are demanding essentially the same thing.

They are tired....

Tired cities and settlements, rayons and entire oblasts.... People are going out into the squares, sitting down on the warm summer asphalt in front of the big buildings where the local authorities have their offices. They sit and they sit. Waiting for guarantees of a different life from the one allotted to them by the fate of being a miner and our common fate.

Who is striking—the working class, the most leading and conscious class? The same. Didn't you realize? Well, no wonder. For so many years people in miners' uniforms and helmets have radiated official optimism from newspaper pages and posters and have lived, apparently, not to live, but to demonstrate to themselves and to the whole world their class triumph and prosperity.

Only yesterday, according to sociological poll data, apparently, 60 percent of the workers were participating in running production via teams of communist labor, team leaders' councils, and so on. "Remember, worker: you are the owner of the plant!"—this poster blandishment, so false and unctuous, like the hypnotic propaganda invocations to cherish every working moment (when stoppages were lasting weeks and months), strengthen discipline and order in every workplace (when plants, entire sectors, and the whole economy were visibly crumbling)—all this has now reverberated, rumbled throughout the country, like warning peals of thunder.

The miners' strikes are the payment not only for long years of arrogant neglect of peole's basic needs, but also for the lies which accompanied our movement "from victory to victory."

Every cloud has a silver lining: There has been a sharp drop in crime in the striking rayons and oblasts of late and the number of alcohol-related incidents has fallen almost to zero. But let us not get carried away—it is just that people are busy with other things. Busy!—let no one be perplexed by this seemingly obvious paradox. Work is under way to clear away the economic and social waste dumps. Life has issued another stern warning: The organization of our economy and relationships in the "human being-collective-state-society" system have to undergo resolute and revolutionary restructuring.

K. Marx, considering the aims of the working class, once wrote: "Many of the points in the program have no meaning outside Germany. Spain, Russia, Britain, and America have their own programs which take into account particular difficulties in those countries. The only similarity between these programs is that they have the same ultimate goal.... The goal is to emancipate labor."

For a very long time we have only talked about the emancipation of labor in the sense of seizing political power and nationalizing the means of production. Whereas, according to Marx, it is first a matter of overcoming the alienation of labor from ownership, that is, linking the producer to the means of production. Second, overcoming the isolation of ownership itself from management. They both mean, when translated from the language of political economy into the common tongue: The working person and the owner are one and the same. It is above all the right to be an owner and not just be marked down as such that the miners are advocating. One might say that in many respects they have succeeded.

But while noting the legitimate and entirely worthy and respectable demands of the miners, I cannot conceal my anxiety, I canot avoid some obvious questions.

What does it mean—raising the wages of workers of one industrial sector, increasing their pensions amd benefits, and providing them with good food and everyday goods? Too bad for the workers in other sectors? Teachers, doctors, engineers? What happens to them? To give Prokopyevsk or Mayeyevka all it wants, it has to come from somewhere, but where? In the present conditions one should be even franker: To give to some you have to give others less. Who?

I called three economists and asked them what they thought about the prospects and future consequences of the strike struggle.

S. Dzarasov, doctor of economic sciences:

"Many of the strikers' demands are entirely justified and should have been met long ago, without waiting for things to get worse. But I am not in favor of strongarm pressure from below. It is no better than command-and-administer diktat. If the state pocket is empty, and it is obviously far from full at the moment, then 'gimme'-type demands are not only pointless, but dangerous in terms of their social consequences. The economic questions must be put to the Supreme Soviet and solved in a civilized way."

P. Bunich, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences:

"I would urge the miners and those who are prepared to join them to refrain from such an extreme form of protest. Strikes do not bring us closer to a normal life, they take us further away. We in the Supreme Soviet have not yet exhausted the parliamentary methods of fighting for radical economic reform. Just a little more patience. A package of draft laws is being prepared on ownership, on leasing, on taxation, on regional economic accountability. By the end of the year these documents will be submitted for examination by the Supreme Soviet. They cover the whole range of problems put forward by the miners, but to treat just one sector is to engage in self-deception. The entire economic organism needs treatment. Strikes are not the best medicine. They create more social tension and there is enough of that already."

A. Fokotov, candidate of economic sciences:

"Of course, the government has demonstrated that it can bend. But the demands for higher pay in conditions where there are not enough goods to spend the rubles on whip up inflation. And we know where that leads."

All I would add to the economists' assessments is the following: Yes, emergency measures have neen adopted "from above." But they will not bring about fundamental changes unless they are reinforced by measures "from below"—firm order and an awareness of what is possible and what is impossible—and, above all, by labor. Yes, first and foremost, by labor. We are still in the habit of thinking that the state is rich and can provide anything, and if it does not provide it it means you have asked badly. But, in the first place, it is not rich at all, and in the second place, any wealth will always be based on a foundation of labor productivity. Halting the labor process has never solved any problem but just created new ones.

Finally, during these difficult, worrying days, the ingrained nostalgia for the firm hand approach has stirred in certain people (judging by some telegrams and calls to the editorial office): "So they've taken it into their heads to strike, have they.... Think what they would have got for it in the old days...." Let tragic experience protect us from these temptations. Only by moving toward a healthy economy and real people's power and only in free and constructive democratic dialogue will we be able to acquire dignity, independence, and respect for our labor. That is the hallmark of the owner.

Owners do not strike.

TRUD Cites Costs of Strike

18220166 Moscow TRUD in Russian
16 Jul 89 p 1

[Article by TRUD correspondent Yu. Kotlyarov: "Kuzbass, 15 July"]

[Text] Events in the Kuznetsk Basin affected by the miners' strike are developing in an unpredictable manner. By a decision of the strike committee, the miners of Mezhdurechensk, who were the first to abandon coal faces, resumed work on the morning of 14 July. The loading of coal for consumers began. However, the strikes in Novokuznetsk, Prokopyevsk, Kiselevsk, Leninsk-Kuznetskiy, Osinniki, Kemerovo, and Berezovskiy continue. Moreover, the miners at many mines in Anzhero-Sudzhensk and Belovo, who were waiting, also halted work this morning—allegedly, this is the only way to ensure that their needs are met.

Thus, the workers of as many as nine cities are on strike, and not necessarily miners. For example, in Kiselevsk 17 other enterprises halted work in solidarity with them. The demands of strikers are supported by many labor collectives in other cities as well despite the publication in the local press of an appeal by the Mezhdurechensk strike committee, the oblast CPSU Committee, the oblast executive committee, the oblast council of trade unions, and the oblast committee of the VLKSM [All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League] calling for an end to the strike because "continuing it further may bring about an uncontrollable situation and unpredictable consequences."

Keeping in mind numerous unfulfilled promises of the "good life" in the past, the people treat the current ones with mistrust as well. This is why they are demanding a specific response to their requests and specific decisions. We cannot fail to mention the indecision and inconsistency of local organs. This is why the issue of immediate repeat elections of local leaders is among the demands of strikers in many cities. Unfortunately, repeated demands by the oblast council of trade unions and territorial committees of the trade union of coal industry workers that economic and soviet organs strictly comply with legislation, particularly housing legislation, have been ignored by the ministry, the oblast executive committee, and the city executive committees alike. Now we are reaping the bitter harvest of this....

The serious consequences of a miners' strike lasting many days are obvious. After all, the Kuzbass is one of the main suppliers of fuel for the national economy of the entire country, and one can do no better without coal than without water. At my request, economists of the "Kuzbassugol" association made an approximate calculation of losses. During these days, at least 1 million tonnes of coal have not been produced compared to the usual level; in terms of money, it is about R20 million. I cannot fail to relay the following facts. Yesterday, at a meeting in the central square of Kemerovo, a representative of the "Democratic Union" got to the microphone. When those assembled grasped the sense of his anti-Soviet demagoguery, they catcalled him in unison and denied him the floor. Today one of the leaders of the informal, so-called discussion "workers' club" attempted to make a speech. The miners resolutely denied him their confidence as well, declaring that they have their own acute problems, but that this does not undermine their trust in either the party or the Soviet power. On the platform, next to the slogans-demands "Clean air for the Kuzbass!", "Down with contract prices!", "Meat for everyone" the following slogan written on Whatman paper [vatman] appeared: " 'DS [Democratic Union]'—on the dump!"

The strikers (their total number is estimated to be up to 100,000 persons) are waiting for the outcome of protracted negotiations with the minister, A. Melnikov, first secretary of the CPSU oblast committee, and chairman of the Oblast Executive Committee A. Lyutenko, who are conducting a different dialogue with the miners of Prokopyevsk. Incidentally, on the suggestion of miners, a meeting of representatives of the cities of Kuzbass is planned there in order to elect an oblast workers' committee which will monitor the implementation of measures planned at the government, ministerial, and local levels.

Commentator Reports Supreme Soviet Draft Appeal

LD2507093189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0801 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Commentator Aleksandr Ruvinskiy report from USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Moscow Kremlin]

[Text] There are peaks and bursts of tension and excitement in the work of our Supreme Soviet, you know, and these arise from time to time. They arise for different reasons—because of the agenda or because of the situation in the country. The work of the Supreme Soviet was at such a peak yesterday and in general the tension has continued this morning.

The sitting opened under the chairmanship of Comrade Primakov and Deputy Burlatskiy read a draft appeal by the Supreme Soviet to the Soviet people. What does it amount to? The Supreme Soviet shares and supports the legitimate demands of the working people. It considers that the government and the republican and local bodies of power must resolve the urgent problems and satisfy the demands of the working people. In particular, it is envisaged that imports of consumer goods and medicines should be increased by R10 billion. The Supreme Soviet guarantees that laws will be adopted which extend the economic and democratic rights of the working people. The Supreme Soviet has started work on cleaning up and reducing the state apparatus and on eliminating undeserved privileges. It is expected that a law regulating labor conflicts will be examined in the very near future. The Supreme Soviet expects understanding and support from the Soviet people. That is the main thrust of this draft appeal. The deputies have spoken about it and have put forward their own proposals, too. But a commission has been set up now which has to propose a final text today, and it will be published.

Then the floor was given to Sergey Sergeyevich Alekseyev, chairman of the Committee on Issues of Legislation, to present a supplementary report on the confirmation of the decrees of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. He conveyed the opinion of the committee on various decrees. It recommends that part of the decrees should be adopted without amendments. On many of them, however—and altogether there are 18 such decrees—amplifications and changes are required. It will be necessary to return to some decrees later: in particular, it is recommended that amendments should be made to the decree on the restoration of justice with regard to those illegally repressed. When the decree on reducing the armed forces and military expenditure was being examined here, the measures in it concerning labor placement have to be defined more precisely. There is also a proposal that an article be incorporated in it under which service personnel being cut would retain their pay for 1 year. Well, these proposals will be the subject of further discussion.

After this supplementary report, the discussion of specific decrees began. The first to be placed under discussion was the decree on changes in the procedure for issuing licences to take up private labor activity. The deputies adopted this decree with certain changes and the voting took place separately by chambers, as is the case with all decrees, in fact. Also examined was the decree making changes to the legislation on holidays and commemorative days. Deputy Shcherbak proposed that professional holidays should be abolished altogether and that 26 April should be marked as the Day of Ecological Forewarning. Many deputies spoke, but the discussion ended with a decision that this decree should be examined further in the committees and returned to later. A decree was adopted on additions to Article 4 of the fundamentals of housing legislation. The deputies have now begun to consider the decree on additional measures to restore justice with regard to those illegally repressed in the 1930's and 1940's. This decree has now attracted a great deal of attention and discussion of it will continue after the interval. An interval has now been declared at the session.

'Tense' Situation Continues in Georgia, Abkhaziya

LD2507104889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0947 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, 25 Jul (TASS)—TASS correspondent Nikita Demidov reports:

According to the press center of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs the situation in Abkhaziya, where there have been disturbances in mid-July because of differences between nationalities, remained tense during the past 24 hours. In Sukhumi, the capital of the autonomous republic, almost half of the industrial enterprises are not working. Public transport is at a complete standstill in the Sukhumi region.

Yesterday two people were arrested in Ochamchirskiy rayon in Abkhaziya on suspicion of murdering a militia officer and a student of the Leningrad higher political college of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs last Saturday.

The reports of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs also testify to a tense situation in the union republic of Georgia, of which Abkhaziya forms part. Yesterday there was an unauthorized meeting in Tbilisi, the Georgian capital, in which around 18,000 people took part. The participants discussed the events taking place in Abkhaziya. In the center of Tbilisi 30 students, 3 of whom have declared a hunger strike, are holding a sit-down demonstration. They are demanding complete independence for Georgia. Party and soviet organs are conducting explanatory work among the population of the Georgian capital.

In the Georgian village of Chubari on the evening of 23 July a convict who had escaped from the prison in the town of Zugdidi, shot dead, with his brother and father, a criminal investigation staff member and wounded another militia member. The internal affairs organs are conducting operational investigative measures to find and arrest the criminals.

According to the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs data, a total of 21 people have been killed in the region during the events. Around 50 attacks have been carried out on internal affairs organs, subunits of enterprises' militarized protection services, and other state installations. Thirty-four people have been arrested for participation in the disturbances and 221 for violating the citizens' special conduct regime. Almost 5,000 weapons have been confiscated.

Situation Said Normalizing

LD2407142589 Moscow TASS in English 1401 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Sukhumi July 24 TASS—The situation in Georgia's Autonomous Republic of Abkhaziya on the coast of the Black Sea is gradually returning to normal, although it still remains tense.

Public transport is back in operation, as is the vast majority of enterprises, and shops are open.

No armed clashes or other serious excesses have been registered here for the past two days.

Interior Ministry troops and the militia have the situation in Abkhaziya under control.

A total of 60 kilograms of explosives and over 2,000 meters of detonating cable have been discovered in a cache outside the village of Gvandra near Sukhumi. The Abkhazian public prosecutor's office is investigating the case.

A total of 104 rifles and 238 kilograms of explosives have been confiscated over the past 24 hours. All in all, 744 firearms have been turned in by residents voluntarily throughout Abkhaziya.

Eighteen fires have taken place in the republic since the start of the unrest, according to the Soviet Interior Ministry. Six of them are most likely arson cases, while four were started by faulty electric or gas equipment. The causes of the others are being investigated.

The Sukhumi locomotive depot today ended a strike. Each day of the stoppage had cost the country dearly, with 250 goods vans with such priority cargoes as food, gas, fuel and building materials now stranded close to Sukhumi and another 100 trains further on.

Railwaymen, who are increasing the amount of processed freight traffic, hope to normalise the situation by the end of the week.

Confiscation of Weapons Continues

LD2407181289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Our special correspondent Leonid Lazarevich reports on the situation which has taken shape in Abkhaziya.

[Lazarevich] The beginning of the new week was marked in Sukhumi by the first signs of normalization of the situation. Public transportation has started working. We were told at the town party committee that most of the factories and works are fully operational. Some are working partially, with up to half of the staff at their work places. The strike at the locomotive depot has also ended. The first trains have run through Abkhaziya.

Here in the republic, however, calm is still far away. In the course of the events in Abkhaziya, 5,500 firearms were confiscated. Imagine, the population had, among other things, 6 machine guns, 69 submachine guns, 49 pistols, and 111 rifles. Despite all the efforts by the internal troops, it has been possible to confiscate only 750 guns. So, people still have many, many weapons. Each of the 4,750 guns may be fired at any moment.

Here is an example: In [name indistinct] a domestic dispute arose between neighbors of the same nationality. A shot rang out; it came from an unregistered weapon. Luckily, the wound was not serious. In the current situation each gun is a source of danger. This is what was said at a briefing by (General Mikhail Aleksandrovich Chulkov), Abkhaziya minister of internal affairs.

[Begin Chulkov recording] One of the main tasks is to detect the instigators and organizers of mass disturbances, persons who have committed murders. We have set up several urgent investigative groups to investigate crimes. In this brief period more than 30 criminal cases have been instituted including cases of mass disorder, attempted murder, hooliganism, and illegal possession of arms. Emergency officials of the main administration and inquiry administration of the criminal investigation department of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs have come to help us with our investigations. The procuracy of the republic is also helping us, as are investigators of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The next task is to confiscate weapons and ammunition illegally being kept by the population. We have placed all the most important facilities located on the territory of the autonomous republic under guard. They are guarded by our militia details and personnel of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs internal troops alike.

There have been cases of picketing on roads; armed picketers are stopping cars and citizens and are searching them. Measures have been taken to localize [as heard] the picketers actions.

Let me assure you that the personnel of the Abkhaz Soviet Socialist Republic Ministry of Internal Affairs will take every measure to ensure public order.

At the same time, in carrying out this task we need the public's help. Unfortunately, we find we are getting extremely, extremely little help from the public. [end recording]

[Lazarevich] What I would like to say here is that the bodies of internal affairs, the internal troops, and the commander, Colonel General Shatalin, have to a substantial degree taken on a peacemaking function. They have organized meetings of representatives of the two nationalities and have told them about the situation in other districts. We have seen that officers of the Ministry of Internal Affairs have become propagandists and organizers of the masses. At these meetings we recognized that party workers, in these villages, in these alarming days, have not been making their appearances.

Thousands Attend Nationalist Rally in Tbilisi

AU2507095789 Paris AFP in English 0922 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, July 25 (AFP)—Five thousand people attended a rally on Monday night called by Georgian nationalists in the capital Tbilisi, according to a local newspaper correspondent contacted by telephone from Moscow.

Alix Eremian, a journalist with MOLODEZH GRUZII (Georgian Youth), said demonstrators called for an end to the continuing ethnic clashes in the Georgian-controlled Black Sea republic of Abkhaziya, which have left 21 people dead and scores injured in the past 10 days.

A nationalist source said the crowd chanted "Long live Georgia" and "Down with the Russian empire", but that the rally passed off without incident.

Meetings on the situation in Abkhaziya, which is seeking autonomy from Georgia, have become a regular affair in Tbilisi in the past few days, according to Mr. Eremian.

They are being called by Georgian nationalist movements and groups seeking independence for the Georgian republic.

One militant, Maria Angoulidze, reported that Monday night's rally, at which the nationalist leader Zviad Gamsakhourdia spoke, turned into a demonstration.

"We want independence", she said when asked what had been discussed at the rally. As well as Abkhaziya, the situation in Marneouli, where there have also been ethnic clashes, between Georgians and Azeris, was also raised, she said.

Russian Speakers Stage Tallinn Protest Rally

PM2507082689 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jul 89 Second Edition p 2

[Special correspondent V. Shirokov report: "Rally in Tallinn"]

[Text] Yesterday, 21 July, a rally under the motto "In defense of the rights of USSR citizens" was held in Tallinn on the initiative of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] United Council of Labor Collectives, the Intermovement Coordination Council, the Association of Veterans of USSR Armed Forces and Internationalist Servicemen, and the republic council of enterprise strike committees.

The rally held yesterday near the V.I. Lenin Palace of Culture and Sport, where thousands of workers from all parts of the city and also from Narva, Kokhtla-Yarve, Sillamyae, and other Estonian cities carrying red flags and banners had gathered, took place in a complex atmosphere. It was also attended by guests from Minsk, Kishinev, and Lenigrad.

What was the main concern of those who addressed the rally?

In their opinion, the discriminatory nature of the Law on Language (which has already been adopted) which they believe infringes the political and civil rights of the nonindigenous population. Workers are also worried about the draft law on elections to local soviets to be discussed by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet session on Monday 24 July. The rally participants protested those articles of the law which, according to their opinion, prejudice the rights of the Russian-speaking inhabitants from the outset and rob them and their families of firm confidence in the future.

Estonian Supreme Soviet Begins Session

LD2407135189 Moscow TASS in English 1339 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Tallinn July 24 TASS—A session of the Supreme Soviet of this Soviet Baltic republic opened here today. The law of the Estonian Republic on the election to local government bodies (local soviets) to be endorsed by the session evokes the special interest of deputies.

The bill was discussed for three weeks all over Estonia. Residence requirement for deputies, under which only a person who has lived 15 years in Estonia or five years on territory of the local soviet can be elected deputy of the local government body, aroused special controversy.

It was opposed by participants in meetings held last week in a number of Estonian cities. They were organised by the United Council of Labour Collectives and the Intermovement—public organisations rallying part of the non-Estonian population. Speakers at the meetings said that the residence requirement meant the discrimination against part of the republic's population. However, the discussion in the republic and a public opinion poll showed that the majority of the population supports the bill and believes that the destiny of the region should be decided by people who know well the local problems. The session continues its work.

Russians Walk Out of Session

LD2407172189 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1600 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] [Announcer] The Russian-speaking delegates at the Estonian Supreme Soviet left their seats today in protest against the proposed new electoral law. This law was due to be approved today. The proposal stipulates, among other things, that to be able to vote in local elections the residents must have lived in Estonia for at least 2 years. Therefore, a large part of the population, including, for example, the military personnel, would be excluded from voting.

[Correspondent (Nordgren)] Everything in Estonia came to a standstill today. At workplaces and at home everyone is listening intensively to the radio. The Estonian Supreme Soviet session opened with the confirmation of the nomination of the leader of the People's Front, Edgar Savisaar, as vice premier and leader of the important Planning Committee.

However, the Russian-speaking delegates protested. When it came to voting on the new legislation on elections, 40 of the 240 delegates left the Supreme Soviet in protest. If a decision is made on the new electoral legislation, which discriminates against the Russian-speaking people, all Russian workers will go on strike, said a spokesman for those who left today's meeting. They are reacting against the proposal for a new electoral law; it legislates that a person must have lived in Estonia for at least 2 years to be able to vote in local elections and that a person will have to have lived at least 10 years in the republic to be elected as a delegate.

Among other people, this would pertain to the many Russian soldiers and officers who are stationed in Estonia. The new electoral district organization will also be based on where one lives and not where one works, which makes it more difficult to manipulate the elections.

If the new law is passed, Estonian society will be left to organize its own elections; it will be as in Lebanon, said an agitated Russian today. There is an increasing desperation among the former holders of power, but also among ordinary Russians. In a short time, Estonia has taken over the power both in the Communist Party, the Estonian Supreme Soviet, and the government.

Faced with today's threats of mass strikes and sabotage, however, the Estonian Supreme Soviet backed out and the decision on the new electoral law was postponed. The date for the decision will be announced later. So, the Estonian freedom struggle continues with the classic tactical principle: two steps forward and one step backward. This is (?Thomas Nordgren) at the Supreme Soviet session in Tallinn.

Moscow TV Notes Walkout

LD2407214189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 24 Jul 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent Flyarkovskiy] The routine 12th session of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] of the 11th convocation opened today in Tallinn. As was expected, the draft law of the Estonian SSR on elections to local soviets of people's deputies was the center of attention. Disagreement emerged right at the start when a proposal was made to exclude from the agenda the procedure of examination and adoption of this draft law because deputies had not had an opportunity to acquaint themselves with the whole mass of proposals that have come in during nationwide discussion. Approximately one-fifth of the deputies were in opposition. Recent proceedings of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet have shown that this correlation of forces is more or less stable. As a result, a compromise was reached to hear the report, the co-report, and to debate, but not to adopt a final decision on this draft law. The work of the session, if needed, will be continued in a few days. [video shows session progress, tellers counting votes, correspondent sitting in press box above hall]

[V.I.F Chetvergov, "Baltiyets" production association general director, deputy of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, identified by screen caption] I can say that the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet session always takes place in a rather tense, and yet businesslike, atmosphere. In my view, this session differs from previous ones in the sense that the USSR Congress of People's Deputies cannot fail to have had an influence; there are fewer emotions, but a deeper examination of problems. During discussion of Today's issue, the law on elections to local soviets, a great many comments from one two, three, even four sides were prompted.

A minority of Russian-speaking deputies in the republic's Supreme Soviet, who represent about 40 percent of the population, are not satisfied with the way their voice is being heard in the republic of the Supreme Soviet. Today, for the first time, the Russian-speaking faction, if one can call it that, withdrew to a meeting, at the same time raising the question of the need for something to be done in the activity of the Supreme Soviet to ensure that greater attention is paid to this view, to ensure that Russian-speaking deputies, who represent such a section of the population, though in the majority, do not feel left out in resolving issues and do not feel as though they are being disregarded.

[Flyarkovskiy] The thought was expressed in the speech by Deputy Panfilov that the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet's work has always been a fine example of political culture. Do you share this view?

[Chetvergov] Yes, I do share it. Of course, here, we do not have a mind for mutual insults, or any, so to speak, what I would call demarches, and so on. There is none of this. An intense and far from simple discussion, and a far from simple process, is under way. It is under way.

[Flyarkovskiy] It became clear from the main report on this draft law that the proposal on the introduction of a 2-year settlement qualification for voters will be the subject of the keenest debates.

Estonian People's Front Issues Appeal

LD2407161889 Tallinn MAALEHT in Estonian 13 Jul 89 p 3

[Text] Proceeding from point 3 of the joint session of the members of the People's Council of the Estonian People's Front and of regional boards, the Estonian People's Front presents for signing the following address to those who have joined the People's Front, who support the People's Front, and to all the citizens of Estonia.

Each signature dispatched to the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet is an essential stake at implementing the Estonian independence endeavor. Signatures are being collected in all support groups of the Estonian People's Front and in all regional centers.

Signatures may also be sent to the administration of the Estonian People's Front, at the address of Tallinn 200 001, Ust t. 28; together with the text published here:

To the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet

To the Estonian deputies at the USSR People's Deputies Congress.

We, the signatories, are convinced that the 22 July 1940 declaration which applied for Estonia to be accepted into the Soviet Union, did not express the free will of the Estonian people; instead, it was the result of military and political pressure exerted upon Estonia. The forcible joining of Estonia with the Soviet Union has been and is an act which ignores the right of the Estonian people to self-determination.

We are of the position that the endeavors of the Soviet Union for the establishment of a law-governed state and for the creation of a European joint home founded upon mutual trust of the peoples presupposes the establishment of the historic truth and justice under the conditions of respect for a free historical choice for the Baltic peoples.

We demand that the injustice done to the Estonian people is made good, that necessary juridical and political guarantees for self-determination are created, and that the Estonian statedom is peacefully restored.

Estonian Supreme Soviet Compromises on Bill

LD2507131589 Moscow TASS in English 1158 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Text] Tallinn, Estonia, July 25 ETA-TASS—The Estonian Supreme Soviet on Monday discussed the republican draft law on elections to local soviets of people's deputies of the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic].

Although the draft had been widely discussed before the session, deputies failed to come to agreement on it. Some of them insisted on approving the draft, while others said that it needed to be further elaborated.

In a compromise move the session decided to hold the first hearing of the draft law and its discussion and then raise the issue of its approval within two weeks so that deputies could consult their electors and the drafting commission could sum up deputies' proposals and critical remarks.

The session heard a report of Estonian Prime Minister Indrek Toome on implementation of the republican cost-accounting concept.

Deputies supported the approval of a federal draft law on economic independence of Lithuania and Estonia by the USSR Supreme Soviet, and asked the USSR Supreme Soviet to pass the law at the current session.

The Estonian legislature also heard reports on some other topical issues.

The session was attended by the first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, Vayno Vyalyas.

Estonian Premier on Pioneering Economic Reforms

AU2507113289 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 24 Jul 89 p 3

[Interview with Estonian Premier Indrek Toome by Diethard Goos in Tallinn: "We in Estonia Are the Pioneers for the Others"; date not given]

[Text] Indrek Toome, premier of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic, is convinced that his country's revolutionary economic reforms will be introduced all over the USSR as of 1991—regardless of the protests that were raised in Estonia over the weekend [22-23 July]. About 10,000 people, most of whom were probably members of the Russian minority in this Baltic republic, demonstrated in the Estonian capital of Tallinn against the Estonian efforts for autonomy. DIE WELT interviewed Toome in Tallinn. Previously in Moscow, he had achieved an important partial victory on Estonia's path toward economic independence from the centralized state and party apparatus in Moscow.

[Goos] Will the Supreme Soviet approve the Estonian reform program for the profound restructuring of the economy?

Toome: The responsible committees of the Supreme Soviet have had the concluding discussions about Estonia's and Lithuania's intended transition toward economic independence. The last joint session of four responsible committees, which took 3 hours, was preceded by more than 20 hours of deliberations. I held the concluding speech for Estonia and the deputy premier of Lithuania spoke for his country.

The Supreme Soviet deputies asked us many questions about the reform programs. We received increasing support. However, there were also critical questions about why we are in such a hurry to implement the reforms. During the debate the opinion of the majority became increasingly clear. In the final vote, 97 of the 100 deputies present supported our reform program, 2 voted against it, and 1 abstained. At the same time, a corresponding recommendation was made to the Supreme Soviet plenum.

[Goos] How will the procedure continue in the Supreme Soviet?

Toome: My proposal is: We should not waste much time until the final vote in the Supreme Soviet plenum because there is the danger that other permanent Supreme Soviet committees, the Council of Ministers, and the State Planning Commission want to express their opinions. We will do everything during the rest of the term until mid-August to have the draft law passed. I think we can manage this, even though at the plenary session of the Supreme Soviet there might be different opinions about the reform program.

President Gorbachev has already expressed his view on our reform law at the People's Congress. The program is realistic and can be passed, he said. In addition, Leonid Albakin, Premier Ryzhkov's deputy, stated that there is no alternative to the program of independent economy.

[Goos] What are your most important reform ideas?

Toome: Our draft law is good and its radical nature corresponds to our original ideas despite some changes. If this program is passed, there will be no essential difference between complete sovereignty and the sovereignty we will get. It involves the independence of the entire Estonian economic system, the right to our own budget and tax sovereignty, the issuing of our own Estonian money, and our responsibility for Estonia's foreign trade.

[Goos] Will other USSR republics follow your example?

Toome: Yes. I think that the kind of reform work we are doing will also be carried out in the Soviet Union. By the end of this year there will be skeleton draft law for economic independence. On this basis, each individual republic can work out its own measures. We in Estonia are the pioneers for the others. The other union republics, areas, and districts of the Soviet Union will make the transition to the system of independent economy as of 1991.

Estonian Committee Discusses Self-Management

LD0607201789 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 30 Jun 89

[Interview with Estonian Planning Committee Chairman Rein Otsason by correspondent Mart Aare; from the "Echo of the Day" program; date and place not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Aare] Today [30 June] the extended collegium of the Estonian Planning Committee discussed the so-called Maslyukov version of self-management in the union republics. Planning Committee Chairman Rein Otsason, where did today's discussion here at the Planning Committee lead?

[Otsason] Today's discussion ended with practically a unanimous position. The version sent to us by the union's Council of Ministers does not meet the tasks for developing the republic's national economy nor our Supreme Soviet's resolution.

The collegium decided practically unanimously against introducing it [words indistinct] in the republic. [passage omitted]

The draft resolution sent down to us is nothing but an attempt to stifle the endeavors toward independence in our republic's economy, with some half or even quarter promises, which essentially provide no economic sovereignty.

The Planning Committee's position will be handed over to the Council of Minister's on Monday [3 July]. The Council of Ministers will then decide on the form in which it will pass the position to Moscow. [passage omitted]

Tajik, Kirghiz Peasants Resolve Border Feud

LD2207152889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0834 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Text] Dushanbe, 22 Jul (TASS)—TASS correspondent Aleksandr Nemirovskiy reports:

While interethnic clashes continue in a number of regions in the USSR, the peasants of Tajikistan and Kirghizia (republics in Soviet Central Asia) have set a good example of settling such a conflict by compromise.

The clashes between peasants of neighboring rayons of Tajikistan and Kirghizia, which took place a week ago, were connected with the undefined nature of their rights to possession of arable lands near the town of Isfara. The boundary between the two republics in this locality was not precisely drawn. The local authorities on both sides were even proud of this imprecise boundary as evidence of good relations between neighbors.

Such a frivolous attitude about a serious matter led to the peasants cultivating land on the others' territory. Such intermingling of farmed strips was tolerated for some time, but in recent years the population in these localities has increased considerably, and in some villages the area of land per head has fallen to 0.05 hectares. Because the authorities continued to ignore the situation, the peasants set about solving the problem themselves—and not at all by diplomatic means—village against village, with hunting rifles in their hands. As a result, 1 person was killed and 20 seriously wounded. A curfew was imposed in Tajik villages.

There are now signs of a settlement of the conflict.

Kakhor Makhkamov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan, who is in the area, reported at a news conference that a Tajik-Kirghiz commission had been set up and that it has begun to define precisely the border between the two republics at 13 points in the conflict zone, which should lead to the restoration of justice. Each will receive lands within his own republic. Taking account of the existing complications, it was decided to carry out the final boundary fixing with the agreement of the peasants of the two sides. Confirmation of the border on this section will be introduced into the Soviet parliament. The Tajik and Kirghiz peasants agreed to this solution to the quarrel.

Gorbachev Sends Message to Murmansk Festival

LD2507094689 Moscow TASS in English 0740 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 25 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev has sent a message of greeting to participants in the Murmansk Peace Festival that opens today. He described the festival ending the North European peace march as "further convincing evidence of the striving of people from many countries to turn Europe into a common home, safe and convenient for all, where everyone can choose his own way of life and maintain good relations with others."

According to the president, the building of peaceful Europe calls for giving up once and for all a policy of force and "nuclear deterrence." A truly peaceful state of things on the continent is incompatible with nuclear weapons.

"The Soviet Union supports the proposal on turning Northern Europe into a nuclear-free zone, favours a joint development of natural resources and the creation of a single system of control over the natural environment. The USSR Congress of People's Deputies gave the force of law to our foreign policy course based on new thinking," Gorbachev stressed.

Along with the efforts of statesmen aimed at ensuring successful advance towards civilised relations worthy of the 21st century, Gorbachev made special mention of the significance of an extensive dialogue of ordinary citizens and their vigorous actions in all directions—disarmament, ecology and culture, as well as the humanitarian and legal spheres.

Azerbaijan Meeting Discusses Employment

NC0707074189 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 5 Jul 89

[Text] The republic's party, soviet, and economic organs should closely concern themselves with the question of attracting (?additional) resources to production in the social field, which is one of the most pressing problems. It is well known that for many years the population in Azerbaijan has increased much faster than employment opportunities.

Taking into consideration the social, economic, and political importance of resolving this problem, the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee has decided to debate the question at one of its forthcoming plenums.

A meeting at the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee has been held to prepare for the next central committee plenum. Leading officials of the Council of Ministers, the State Planning Committee, the State Commitee for Material and Technical Supply, the State Commitee for Work and Social Affairs [as heard], ministries and main administrations, establishments and unions, secretaries of city and rayon party committees, and chairmen of the city and rayon people's deputies soviet executive committees participated in the meeting.

Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, addressed the meeting.

The party [word indistinct] program and the main directions of the new work sites program, which have been drawn up by the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee's Social and Economic Affairs Commission, were presented at the meeting. An enthusiastic exchange of views took place and very interesting ideas and proposals were put forward.

It was noted that work could be found for approximately 20,000 people without the need for additional [word indistinct] in the republic. The existence of so many vacancies was discovered while a plan to reorganize employment opportunities was being prepared.

The participants in the meeting were tasked with finding additional resources for new work sites within a short period of time with a view to providing employment opportunities for some 100,000 to 150,000 people by 1 January 1991. The leading officials of the ministries, main administrations, and establishments were instructed to forward concrete proposals on the matter by the end of 1989.

Comrades Gasan Gasanov, Ayaz Mutalibov, and Tel'man Orudzhev participated in the meeting.

Azerbaijan Meeting Discusses Law Enforcement

NC0707080889 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] A meeting of leading officials of the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs and Committee for State Security at the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee examined the situation and [word indistinct] of the struggle against criminal offenses and the tasks to further strengthen the laws. Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, addressed the meeting.

The meeting conducted a principled examination of the reasons for the serious mistakes in the work of law enforcement organs. It was noted that was essential to strengthen significantly the struggle against corruption, [word indistinct] crimes, and breaches of law at the interethnic level. The measures required for establishing law and order in society must be realized with effective coordination of the work of all law enforcement organs and serious adherence to socialist law in relations between the work collectives and the workers militia [fehle drujinalari]. Meanwhile, attention was focused on the need to strengthen relations between each and every employee of the Internal Affairs Ministry and the Committee for State Security organs, secure a flawless fulfillment of their duties, and (?determine) the vanguard role of the communists affiliated with the law enforcement organs.

Comrades (?Karulovskiy), Mamedov, Polyanichko, and Seidov participated in the meeting.

Armenian People's Deputy Advocates Nationalism

LD2107173689 Yerevan GRAKAN TERT in Armenian 30 Jun 89 p 3

[Speech by USSR Supreme Soviet Deputy Karen Simonyon at the Armenian Supreme Soviet; date not specified]

[Excerpts] Esteemed chairman and honorable deputies:

Here, a little while ago, the confidence was voiced that S. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, has already come close to the democratic, pan-Armenian movement. I do not believe this to be true. It is my conviction that he has merely taken a first step and is hardly likely to be successful in further steps if he cannot get rid of the shackling forces which are trying to maintain in the republic a constant state of tension. [passage omitted]

Civilization, democracy, and human rights assume that leaders are elected by the people and go upon the demand of the people.

By its activities—or, more correctly, by the lack of them—the Republican Supreme Soviet Presidium has precipitated such a complicated legislative tangle that the only possible way to unravel it lies in the election of a new Presidium.

I am seriously disturbed by the total helplessness of this supreme authority of Soviet Armenia when the republic, in plain sight of all of us, has been parcelled out between union ministries and supervisory bodies.

The master and manager of the republic is not the Council of Ministers but the USSR ministries of power, water economy, chemical industry, the non-ferrous metallurgy, people's education and so forth who—as a result of the passive attitude of the republican authority—feel themselves the lord and master of their respective bailiwicks.

As Yeveniy Primakov explained to us ignorant and illiterate extremists last year, the Armenian people are not only not the master of their own history, their historical land, and—when you come down to it—their own language, but they also have no right whatsoever over their soil, water, air, and natural resources because-...because we are still in the chains of the "internationalism" forged by the "beloved father of the peoples."

Qualitative changes of the ethnic and human kind are taking place at a time of frenzied growth in the chemical industry. Mad dedication to the cause of building dams and reservoirs, zealous overproduction of energy, and the development of the soil not by giving it to the peasant who works it—eliminating the absurd kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms]—but through its chemicalization, trampling underfoot of a man's right to health, to life, and to happiness in the process.

"The country needs rubber" say the representatives of the union ministry. Members of the republic's government echo the same words, and the leaders of the "Nayirit" [production association in Yerevan] sing them out in chorus, and the union ministry of health follows through by defining new admissible levels for poisoning our population with chloroprene and yet nobody from our leadership questions why, for goodness sake, why should the rubber, or the electric power, or the copper or molybdenum necessary for the country should be obtained at the cost of the health and lives of the Armenian people.... The friendship of the peoples conjured up by "the beloved father" was a means of covering up a policy of colonialism. But should we still put up with this colonial status in our days?

We will not. Despite the practice of the appointment of Russians by the center as second "faces" at all levels in accordance with classic colonialist practice, beginning with the office of the secretariat of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee all the way down to the procurator's offices of the republic....

Such is the situation prevailing in the republic now that it is necessary to avert a national disaster as well as to find our way out of the economic crisis, to have not only a particular economic system—or, as it is sometimes called, production relations based on economic accounting—and a zone of free economic enterprise where it would be possible to conduct joint ventures with foreign firms and business circles, but also to achieve the republic's paramountcy [gerishkhanutyun] or being master of its own house or—what is the same—its sovereignty [suverenutyun] which needs to be proclaimed at this very session and whose draft I am submitting to the Presidium.

The proclamation of the republic's sovereignty is a vital necessity if we agree or at least seek to picture our life, the development of the society and national progress within a democratic reality and not to continue a state of servitude under totalitarianism.

Of course, everybody—including the "old and well-tried bones of the apparatus"—professes to be a dedicated partisan of democracy these days. But, odd as it may seem, it is suddenly revealed that a democratic movement may also be "formal" or "nonformal." That, at any rate, was the case at the 29 May session of the first conference of the Supreme Soviet, when A. Lukyanov referred to the activities of the "Karabakh" committee as a phenomenon of "nonformal" movement.

If a movement embraces hundreds of thousands—or millions, if you like—of people and expresses their will and can yet be considered a "nonformal democratic movement," it would be very interesting to know as to what constitutes a "formal" democratic movement.

This periodic exercise in casuistry was occasioned by the fact that the leaders of the Karabakh Movement and their loyal colleagues, that is to say the 14, were taken into custody for a period of 30 days allegedly for violating the curfew, following "a war of psychological attrition" in our press and on the air. They were then thrown into isolated interrogation cells where criminal allegations began to be cooked up against them.

The republican press—with the exception, I think, of the PIONERI KANCH—published the notorious article of slander which was reprinted in PRAVDA. Thus did those responsible for the Ideology Department of the Central Committee of the Republican Communist party further deepen the distrust which the people had felt then and continue to feel now toward the party.

So, who is to answer for this operation?

But, while the search for such a person goes on, it is necessary to drop the criminal charges against the 14 members of the Karabakh Committee on the grounds that they have no case to answer, it is necessary to rehabilitate them, and it is necessary for us to have guarantees that such illegal acts will not happen again. I have always said and I reiterate today that to put the 14 on trial is tantamount to putting the Armenian people on trial.

The truth is that we talk and talk about a state based on the rule of law and yet it is the law enforcement bodies that are the foremost and most frequent violators of the law. We talk about restructuring and yet we are up against the concrete wall of the apparatus and the system. We talk about pluralism and dissent, yet the chairman of the State Committee for Radio and Television and the editors of the press bend their will only to the unbending and arbitrary views suggested from above and which are able to deprive even a people's deputy from having his voice heard in print or on the air. And so, we will go on and on talking.... We will continue to submit slavishly to the whims of the nomenklature and we will continue to remain a people not only not seeking freedom but not even dreaming of it.

We must finally realize and let it register that over a period of 70 years there has been not socialism but totalitarian tyranny. Over a period of 70 years there has not been a federal union of free republics but the same colonial monarchy under a different guise. There has been no brotherhood of the peoples but there has been injustice and a state of servitude of peoples violated on the basis of lies and hypocrisy. And it has already been said that "if the present government is not overcome by a cataclysm caused by famine, it may perhaps be possible for Russia to come out of this critical situation." It has already been said and "I repeat, that every nation deserves the kind of government it gets. The Russian people, with their excessive patience, deserve the Bolsheviks who have brought the people to the edge of the abyss.... But opting for freedom is a precondition without which I do not see the possibility of even the first steps for a way out. If there is still any possibility for a way out for Russia, it is this alone: a return to freedom." (V. Korolenko)

Is there any need to add that our servile attitude not only does not help the Russian people to find their way to salvation but also contributes in some measure to further deepen the critical situation in the entire country?

I talk of freedom and feel the confusion of all those who overtly or covertly pine for "the past and the blissful Stalinist times." Those who are ready to express their desires to dehumanize society and people, those who—in the final analysis—are unable to kill the slave in themselves. I therefore want to read out the original text of a little satirical poem which may perhaps seem a consoling hope to the faithful believers in totalitarianism and serve as a serious warning for us and all others who yearn for freedom. The spirit of freedom.... To restructuring

The whole country is forging ahead

And the policeman wants to drown itself in the dirty Moika [river]

Do not do it, oh warrior guard

Liberty is smiling!

Policeman! Take it easy

The old yoke will be back....

[Preceding poem published in Russian]

Sasha Chorny wrote those lines nearly 85 years ago, in 1905. Decades have passed, epochs have changed, but I continue to live in terror lest, all of a sudden, "the former exploitation and impoverishment is restored."

We need safeguards. We need a truly Soviet but never an apparatus-based authority. We must therefore proclaim for our republic today the decree of Soviet authority which Academician Sakharov unfortunately did not manage to proclaim at the USSR Supreme Soviet congress.

We need a patently democratic and independent free republic. We need not only mere glasnost but freedom of speech.

And for all of this we must embark upon a united struggle and must continue it to the end.

Armenian Deputy Speaks on Pan-Turkish Threat

LD2107171189 Yerevan GRAKAN TERT in Armenian 30 Jun 89 p 3

[Speech by USSR Supreme Soviet Deputy Zori Balayan to the Armenian Supreme Soviet; date not specified]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Today, we must not allow the dissemination of the premeditated artificial theory that it was the green Iranian Islamic banners that were flying during the Fergana incidents at Uzbekistan. The green flags that fluttered there were of another kind: They were the banners of pan-Turkism which has rather more concrete goals. Their goals are directed at one thing: To clear Nagorno-Karabakh out of their way as were Nakhichevan and the Plains Karabakh and, driving a corridor through the wedge of Meghri to gain entry to Turan which has already been dubbed "the underbelly" of Russia. Is it not time to think that we are now faced with Hamlet's question: to be or not to be—a question for Armenians today and, tomorrow, for the Russians?

"Have you stopped to think why the Uzbeks, who had given refuge to the Armenians in the hour of their dire need, to Crimean Tartars, Germans, Koreans, and Turks of Georgia, began massacring Turks out of the blue and for no reason?" [passage omitted] What happened in Fergana was a pan-Turkish plan. It is probably not widely known that at the height of the Fergana incidents, people's deputies received messages from the Meskhetian Turks asking to be moved specifically to Akhalkalak, Akhaltskha, and Bogdanovka Rayons. It is the sort of "detail" that would hardly draw the attention of the uninitiated. But these are the very rayons with a predominantly Armenian population. The point is that the Meskhetian Turks have never lived in Zavakhk, and that the rayons at issue are on the borders of the Armenian and Georgian Republics. The goal is clear: to surround Armenia with Turks. Armenia is already in a cul-de-sac and virtually surrounded even without this. And now this kind of provocation has been carried out at the cost of innocent people's lives and is being presented as the evil handiwork of this or that group of hooligans.

Karabakh is not just a geographical point on the map. It is a stumbling block frustrating the effortless march of pan-Turkism to Turan which they already call Russia's "underbelly."

To be convinced that Nakhichevan's bitter fate awaits Karabakh, it is enough to be acquainted with a tiny part of the pan-Turkist plan, drawn up by Nazim, a leader of the Young Turks: "There are vast expanses of land and prospects for our development and expansion in the Asiatic lands east of us. Our ancestors have come from Turan and today, the Transcaucasus as well as the opposite side of the Caspian Sea and vast tracts of land further east are almost exclusively inhabited by Turkish-speaking peoples living, unfortunately, under the yoke of our centuries-old enemy, the Russians. This is the only direction in which our political horizons are open and it remains for us to fulfill our holy duty to bring about the unification of the Turkic races from the Mediterranean to the Aral Sea...."

The pan-Turkism movement received a new form later on. Slogans like "a slow death to Nakhichevan" and "a slow death to Karabakh" came into being and, of course, a slow death to Soviet Armenia. [passage omitted] The comination of the words "Armenian statehood" has become simply hateful for the leadership of the pan-Turkism movement. You wonder how it is that Russians—or, more correctly, Soviet strategists—ignore this. Indeed, you cannot help being amazed how they can remain unaware of it as the plan says in black and white: "The existence of an Armenian state would be the gravestone of our plan for Turanism." And that, according to Nazim, "would mean the death of pan-Turkism". [passage omitted]

As you see, the Karabakh issue is a strategic one. And the necessity of settling it is the task not only of politicians but also of strategists who must consider the fate of the future generations of this region of the country. To prevent fascism being reborn on the face of the earth, the people of the world organized the Nuremberg Trials in the name of the living and the dead. To prevent a recurrence of the Karabakh tragedy in our country, it is necessary to hold trials under the patronage of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Armenian Supreme Soviet to unmask the organizers of the genocide of the Armenians and Russians in Nakhichevan Autonomous Oblast. It is necessary to tell the civilized world what happened to thousands of rare Armenian and Russian monuments, how they were destroyed. It is necessary for our country's post-October strategists and general staff to answer before the tribunal of history why and how the Armenian city of Kars, which was a Russian advance post with its Russian fort, Russian gymnasium, and Russian church, was given to the Turks. [passage omitted]

In this connection, I would like to appeal to you, honorable Suren Gurgenovich [Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee], in your capacity as member of the Military Council of the Transcaucasus Military Okrug. The people cannot feel themselves safe and secure when they know that there are 26 NATO-Turkish bases along the border. We witnessed how those who sent troops to Afghanistan and those who are allocating billions of rubles for military and economic aid to a number of countries at a time when 40 million citizens are on the verge of poverty came under criticism at the congress. Even then, everybody kept silent about what was happening under their noses, ignoring the existence of the 800,000-strong Turkish Army supported by NATO dollars, and the nuclear weapons aimed at Yerevan, Stepanakert, Tbilisi, and Moscow. The people feel the need for security and trust, and they demand freedom from terror. [passage omitted]

Correction to U.S. Vote Termed 'Interference'

NC2507104589

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Azerbaijan Presidium Says U.S. Vote 'Interference,'" published in the 24 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 96:

Page 96, first column, second paragraph, only sentence: ...presidium:

The U.S. Senate adopted a resolution on the situation in Azerbaijan SSR's Nagorno Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. The resolution contains serious calumnies which can only be assessed as interference in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union.

The Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium makes it known that no nation agrees to be guided on the way it should establish relations with other nations. Regarding the question of interference in the interethnic relations in the Soviet Union and the effort aimed at sowing discord in relations between the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples, this is not the duty of the U.S. Senate.

The Azerbiajan SSR Supreme Soviet believes the disgusting approach by the U.S. Senate is only aimed at achieving a single objective—the obstruction of the way the problem around NKAO should... (providing indistinct words, rephrasing, changing "Congress" to "Senate")

Same page, same column, paragraph six, only sentence: ...to the U.S. Senate. (changing "Congress" to "Senate")

Lithuania Nullifies Political Sentences

PM2107142589 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 16 Jun 89 p 3

[Interview with Yonas Misyunas, chairman of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Court, by ELTA correspondent A. Mankyavichyus: "A Step Toward a Rule-of-Law State"; place and date of interview not given; first paragraph is an introduction]

[Text] This year the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Court has quashed sentences passed on 12 persons under Article 68 of the Lithuanian SSR Criminal Code (anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda). Other cases are under review, and changes are being implemented in law enforcement work in the republic. ELTA correspondent A. Mankyavichyus conversed on this topic with Yonas Misyunas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Court.

[Mankyavichyus] One of the cases which received broad publicity was that of priest Alfonsas Svarinskas. Please refresh our memory....

[Misyunas] A. Svarinskas was sentenced in 1983. The charges said that since 1978, in pursuit of the goal of weakening Soviet power, he had systematically disseminated what he knew to be false fabrications discrediting the Soviet state and social system. He had kept books with anti-Soviet contents for this purpose. Together with others, he had written and disseminated sundry documents and sent them to the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the country's general prosecutor. He had disseminated a total of 51 documents.... That was how the priest's actions were described 6 years ago. This year I filed an appeal against sentence and it was heard by the republic's Supreme Court Presidium. It was ruled that criminal liability under Article 68 arises only in cases when the accused pursued the goal of weakening the Soviet state and social system and incited the commission of certain particularly dangerous state crimes. In his sermons and letters A. Svarinskas raised the problems of religion and spoke about young people's education, relations with atheism, and negative phenomena within the Soviet system, and did so very sharply at times. It was not established, however, that he did so in order to weaken or undermine Soviet power.

Having recalled the A. Svarinskas case, it is necessary to mention the recently amended Article 68 of the republic's criminal code. It no longer contains the paragraph whose broad interpretation in the past made it possible to put on trial all who criticized Soviet power and thus "weakened" it. The republic's courts have not applied this paragraph since the spring of 1985, when restructuring began. Once the law was amended, we started rehabilitating people sentenced in the past at the application of the sentenced persons and on our own initiative.

There is not a single person in our republic now serving a sentence in a place of imprisonment for his political beliefs. Overall, not a single political criminal case has been instituted in Lithuania since March 1985. The reverse process is under way at a fast pace—justice is being restored.

[Mankyavichyus] Is it possible today to hold someone criminally liable for conversations and other similar actions?

[Misyunas] Under no circumstances today! The point is that liability for "weakening" the Soviet state and social system has been abolished, a concept which not so long ago encompassed talk about Lithuanian sovereignty, nationality problems, the trampled Lithuanian language, criticism of militant atheism.... As a matter of fact, these are now topics of much franker and more constructive conversation. The following remain punishable: incitement to overthrow Soviet power by unconstitutional means (conspiracy, armed uprising, insurgency) and attempts to undermine Soviet power via nonobservance of laws.

Following changes in many of Soviet society's concepts, Article 199 (1) of the criminal code has also been abolished. It came into being in Moscow in 1966 and was automatically copied by all union republics. This article was used to institute proceedings against people who disseminated sundry critical works and speeches by authors who were in disgrace at the time as dissidents. These people did not set themselves the goal of weakening Soviet power. Perceiving Article 199 (1) as contrary to the constitution, we approached the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and proposed its abolition. Following the article's abolition in February, all 22 persons sentenced under it in Lithuania were rehabilitated. Memories of this article now evoke nothing more than a sad smile. It could have been and was, alas, applied in cases of justified criticism of the Soviet system's shortcomings even though a constitutional provision prohibiting persecution for criticism was in force. Actually, our republic was the first to give up this article.

[Mankyavichyus] And how do people find out that they have been rehabilitated?

[Misyunas] They are issued notices of rehabilitation and are offered apologies on the state's behalf. Having received a rehabilitation document, people can file applications for reimbursement of material damage.

But those who have been sentenced receive notices of rehabilitation only upon written application. When we rehabilitate someone on our own initiative and have no knowledge of the rehabilitated person's address, we do not notify anyone. The person in question learns of his rehabilitation from the press. As a matter of fact, the priest A. Svarinskas, who is now abroad, was able to learn of his rehabilitation from the press.

Now we are reviewing all cases of citizens convicted for political crimes which were classed as state crimes under the law. We have no exact knowledge of how many such cases there are, since no statistics are available. After all, they were tried by the Supreme Court, by oblast courts, and by military tribunals. Our primary objective is to review cases where application has been filed by sentenced persons or their relatives. During 1988 we rehabilitated 227 persons sentenced for political reasons, and we rehabilitated 143 persons in the 1st 5 months of this year.

[Mankyavichyus] You mentioned that the last political case was heard 4 years ago. It would be interesting to know who was the accused and what the charges against him were.

[Misyunas] That case was heard in March 1985. Vladas Lapenis was sentenced for anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda under Article 68 of the criminal code. The charges said that since 1981, desirous of weakening Soviet power, he had prepared, stored, and disseminated literature containing slanderous fabrications denigrating the Soviet system. Following the amendment of Article 68 of the Criminal Code, V. Lapenis' case was reviewed and he was rehabilitated.

[Mankyavichyus] In your view, what are the basic reasons for the absence of political cases at present?

[Misyunas] Speaking of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, it is obvious that virtually no such cases have been instituted since the beginning of restructuring. Even though, as I already said, the old laws were still in force. But life dictated a new perception of citizens' behavior and of the likelihood of criminal liability arising.

It must not be forgotten that cases involving so-called particularly dangerous crimes against the state were extremely carefully monitored by the center. Any deviation from the recommended line was cut short. There were instances when, just a few days after a court's principled action, the prosecutor's office would file an appeal against the court's sentence, which might have appeared too lenient to someone, and another court would hear the case again.

[Mankyavichyus] Can it be asserted that, say, a change in the political situation will not bring back the notorious judicial practices?

[Misyunas] I am absolutely certain that trials based on application of the aforementioned now abolished articles will never recur. But I cannot rule out the assumption that such attempts are likely until the court's legal status is changed. The court must become genuinely independent and must be guided only by the law and legal awareness in its work.

[Mankyavichyus] What needs to be changed to ensure that the court becomes independent and is guided only by the law?

[Misyunas] As I have already said, the courts' status has to be changed to ensure that they have no occasion to apologize to people. Certain positive changes are taking place. For example, courts will now be elected for a term of 10 years. Consequently, we will expect them to be more independent. Second, judges will now be elected by the republic's Supreme Court and not in general elections. The initial lessons have shown that the Supreme Court displays more responsibility when electing judges.

But I think that this is not yet a radical judicial reform. In my view, if the courts are to be independent, judges must be elected for an unlimited term until, say, pensionable age. Furthermore, they should be relieved of their duties only by reason of serious illness or the commission of a professional or other crime. This being so, provided judges do not breach specific prohibitions, even the Supreme Soviet would be unable to recall them.

Judges would be able to work quite autonomously, face to face with the law alone. Actually, this is not the first time we have submitted such proposals.

The administration of justice must be exclusively in the republic's hands. If the country's Ministry of Justice or other administrative institutions were to start telling us how to work and how to decide cases, this would be in breach of the constitution. The court, being a constitutional organ, cannot be guided by an administrative organ. The initial amendments to the republic's constitution which have been adopted are already substantially changing our status and potential.

Lithuanian Party Chief Discusses Supreme Soviet

LD1507085789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 15 Jul 89

[Interview with A.K. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, by correspondent I Zorin; date and place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Zorin] There have been short breaks between the week's sittings, and you've been in Lithuania. What sort of political, as it were, repercussions from the Supreme Soviet session have there been in your republic?

[Brazauskas] Naturally, people are following the progress of the Supreme Soviet session as much as they can. It's a good thing that Central Television and Radio are providing very extensive information every day—extensive information. I think it will be more interesting, including for the inhabitants of Lithuania, when the hearings of individual draft laws begin. Here, of course, the work will be more difficult, I would even say, for the commissions and committees, and, needless to say, for the Supreme Soviet. We are very concerned too, because a draft law on the economic independence of the two republics of Lithuania and Estonia has been prepared.

[Zorin] Prepared by you?

[Brazauskas] By us and the Estonians. Throughout the week this draft law has been discussed every evening in the Committee for Economic Reform, and, in the very nearest future—in fact, today will see the last sitting of that committee, where it will, I think and hope, take the decision to recommend the consideration, and perhaps the adoption, of that law at the session of the Supreme Soviet. This item is included in the agenda, though, admittedly, toward the end of the agenda, and one may hope that the Supreme Soviet will hve the time to consider the law. It is very important to us, and very necessary, and we pin great hopes on it. Very important decisions, I would say, were taken by us at the last plenum of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party. A commission for preparing the programs of the Lithuanian Communist Party was set up, and a decision was adopted virtually unanimously at the last plenum on convening a congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party this year. These documents do, of course, place a great obligation on us—they will be examined during discussions within the party, and, in the autumn—we haven't yet fixed the time—we will have to, I would even say, convene such a congress. That is the majority view.

Falin Confirms 1939 Secret Protocol's Existence

LD2307101189 Hamburg DPA in German 0809 GMT 23 Jul 89

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—According to Second German Television (ZDF), the Soviet Union has for the first time official confirmed that there is a secret supplementary protocol to the 1939 Nonaggression Pact between the German Reich and the Soviet Union.

ZDF reported in is news casts at the weekend that Valentin Falin, head of the International Affairs Department of the CPSU Central Committee, admitted this in an television discussion in Moscow. In the supplementary agreement, Eastern Europe was divided up into two "spheres of interest": western and central Poland went to Hitler Germany, and eastern Poland and the Baltic to the Soviet Union.

The television discussion entitled "Hitler-Stalin pact" was on the ZDF schedule for Sunday evening at 2300 [2100 GMT]. It is also to be broadcast by Soviet Television at the begining of August.

WELT AM SONNTAG quoted Falin, who used to be Moscow's ambassador to Bonn, as saying: "I do not view the sources situation uncritically. There is no doubt of the existence of a secret supplementary protocol."

This first official confirmation of such a protocol also has current repercussions for Soviet domestic policy. For some time now, the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, which were independent until 1940, have called for the annulment of the Hitler-Stalin pact. The official admission of the unlawful annexation of the Baltic republics should strengthen the efforts for autonomy there.

The supplementary protocol is held on microfilm in the Bonn Foreign Ministry. According to a survey up to now, there are no original documents in either Moscow or Bonn. For the German part, the files had been ordered destroyed at the end of the war.

At the beginning of June, the Soviet contemporary historian (Lev Besymenskiy) stated that he considered the supplementary protocol document on the microfilm authentic. The Soviet historian was able to examine the documents and reported on them in the Moscow newspaper NOVOYE VREMYA.

In June, (Besymenskiy) referred to the fact that in the Soviet Union there were differing opinions on the 1939 treaty and and the documents that went with it. On one hand, the call for the formal revocation of the Hitler-Stalin pact came from the Baltic; on the other, it was disputed as to whether there was a supplementary protocol at all. The originals of these documents were not available in Moscow or Bonn. In addition, no one knew how they came to get lost in Moscow.

Lauristin Interviewed on Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact

LD2407155489 Tallin MAALEHT in Estonian 13 Jul 89, pp 1, 3

[Excerpts] Marju Lauristin: In Moscow it is like a trench war in progress, with one having to conquer each following position. This thought was voiced by Marju Lauristin, a [Congress of People's Deputies] deputy, on Friday, 7 July, when she came to the editorial board [of MAALECHT] to discuss the work of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact [MRP] commission. She also provided a lengthier interview about how things are proceeding. At the beginning of this week the commission, however, resumed its work. Positions changed to such a degree that what had been said a week earlier turned out to be out of date already. Thus, this interview was born from two conversations—face-to-face conversation in Tallinn and a telephone connection with Moscow—and should represent the latest positions of the MRP commission. [passage omitted]

[Lauristin] It is clear now that Germany has handed over [illegible] of MRP documents [illegible] Falin, head of the International [illegible] Department of CPSU Central Committee, and the experts he has invited. On the other hand, us, the deputies from the Baltic. The great power position endeavors to neutralize all political assessments and demonstrate that the pact was strategically necessary for the USSR; and to justify the conclusion of the pact while denying that it had real political consequences. Our position, however, is just the opposite. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Many people are of the opinion that once the MRP is annulled, Estonia will automatically regain its former independence....

[Lauristin] The issue is not as if Estonian independence disappeared through the pact. The pact only created preconditions for the political moves which followed. We, however, will need to demonstrate that those moves are connected specifically with the pact. [passage omitted] It is clear that the annulment of the pact will not automatically be followed by a change in the status of Estonia, just as on 23 August 1939 the status of Estonia did not change. The task of the commission is to demonstrate that the anexation of the Baltic region by the Soviet Union which followed, proceeds from the pact. Only thereafter can we proceed with action.

[Correspondent] As you said, a big war is in progress in Moscow. Yet can we here, at the rear, also manage to do something?

[Lauristin] Evidently it is the autumn congress of People's Deputies in Moscow which will pass the final verdict in respect of the MRP. But the verdict of the congress will largely depend upon what will have previously taken place in union republics. Because not everything will be decided at the congress. For this reason I think that the Supreme Soviets of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania cannot wait for what will be decided in Moscow.

Experience demonstrates that our initiative is determining. We must step toward the direction we are following—and firmly at that—to force "the center" to follow.

[Correspondent] What should now be the step for the republican parliament to take?

[Lauristin] It should be of the kind which will allow the process of Estonia becoming independent to be implemented legally. A clear position should be taken in respect of several matters. First and foremost in respect of the pact and the year of 1940, with an emphasis on annexation. Our Supreme Soviet has both this right and duty. This would mean a step further from where we arrived through the Declaration of Sovereignty, adopted on 16 November 1988.

[Correspondent] The Declaration of Sovereignty [illegible] Estonian people's will but as yet it is not a juridical document.

[Lauristin] I am not convinced that our Supreme Soviet is [illegible] of a juridical document to that effect. Prior to that one needs to discuss the principles of the development of Estonia's own statehood, until they become clear. It is clear that we wish to achieve an economically and politically independent Estonia. But how? IME [self-managing Estonia] provides an economic concept. We have no similar political plan. We have to work one out. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] You have recently arrived from Western Europe, from Hamburg. Did meetings with local politicians there confirm your convictions?

[Lauristin] Definitely. [passage omitted] National movements like ours are in Europe associated either with ultra-left terrorist groups or with extreme right-wing forces. As they have moderate center parties in power, I felt occasionally—even physically—how there is mistrust in our activity. Usually all the meetings began with questions about what Estonia is striving for and why we should be spreading ideas which are dangerous to the whole of Europe. Once I managed to convince my partners that our path is indeed peaceful, the next question was if we intend to raise the question of frontiers. [passage omitted]

In the FRG I once again arrived at the conviction that we must build up our political plan, proceeding from the processes under way in Europe. Only then can we expect to be understood. [passage omitted]

[correspondent] And yet, several readers think that the People's Front has outlived its uses. [passage omitted]

[Lauristin] Many people of different views and of a different outlook belong in the ranks of the Front. That means that the People's Front is capable of uniting them. We often hold such debates in our council which should indeed take place in the parliament. Thus, the People's Front is fulfilling even now its initial function successfully. It unites people of different views and provides them with an outlet into practical politics. Naturally, with the development of the political system this cannot last this way indefinitely. But only once have we finally broken through into a new political latitude. The People's Front as a movement may become unnecessary or may become one or several parties amongst the others. But that time has not yet arrived, as demonstrated by the struggle in Moscow concerning IME and MRP.

1939 Protocol Detailed

[illegible] Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian [illegible]

[Unattributed article: "1939 Documents To Be Acknowledged" under the rubric: "We Wrote About This Earlier"]

[Text] Vanda Kasauskiene, director of the Lithuanian Communist Party's Party History Museum, shared some thoughts with us in this newspaper yesterday. She had visited the CPSU Central Committee, along with a group of Lithuanian historians, where the official position on the 1939-40 events was deliberated. Her statement yesterday asserted that Moscow is finally acknowledging the existence of additional secret protocols to the USSR-German Agreements of 23 August and 28 September 1939.

Following the publication of this interview, the editorial office has received calls from many readers wishing to familiarize themselves with the text of these protocols. The fate of these documents had previously been discussed in the 20 December daytime edition of TIESA. Today we are publishing a translation of a photocopy of this secret protocol, received by TIESA from the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) Foreign Ministry. This is probably the document the most talked about by the public. We wish to remind you also that Lithuania was directly affected by both the 28 September 1939 and the 10 January 1941 secret documents, signed by the USSR and Germany.

Secret Additional Protocol

In signing the Mutual Non-Aggression Pact between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Germany, the undersigned representatives of both sides have discussed, in strict confidence, the question of each side's sphere of interests regarding the division of East Europe. The discussions resulted in the following decisions:

1. In the event of political realignment of the Baltic State structure (Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania), the northern border of Lithuania would also become the demarcation line between the USSR and the German sphere of interest. Lithuanian interests with respect to the Vilnius region would be recognized concurrently by both sides.

2. In the event of political realignment of territories entering into Poland's state structure, the demarcation of the German and USSR spheres of interest would be drawn approximately along the lines of the Narev, Vysla, and Sana Rivers.

The question of the desirability, for both sides, of maintaining a Polish State, and the question of what the borders of such a state would be comprised of, may be only resolved conclusively by further political developments.

In any event, both governments shall decide this question on a basis of mutual accord.

3. With respect to southeast Europe, the USSR wishes to emphasize its interest in Bessarabia. The German side wishes to declare its total political lack of interest in these areas.

4. Both sides shall hold this protocol in strictest secrecy.

USSR Government Representative
[Signed] V. Molotov

For the German Government
[Signed] J. Von Ribbentrop Moscow, August 23, 1939

Polish Lithuanian Activist Interviewed

LD2107131489 Vilnius KOMJAUNIMO TIESA in Lithuanian 6 May 89 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Janekas Sinkievicius, chairman of the Lithuanian Poles Association, section chief of the CZERWONY SZTANDAR newspaper, by Gintare Adomaityte, at the KOMJAUNIMO TIESA editorial office: "Guilty? 'To Your Freedom and Ours,'—Proposes Chairman of the Lithuanian Poles Association, Janekas Sinkevicius"; date not given; first two paragraphs are an introduction]

[Text] "The Interview Will Take Place In a Week," was the headline of our report on the Lithuanian Poles Cultural Association public conference. We promised to publish an interview with the association, which in the course of the conference had become the Lithuanian Poles Association chairman, section chief of CZERWONY SZTANDAR newspaper, Janek Sinkievicius. Please believe us, the week-long interval was not selected, because either one of us had been lazy or capricious. My colleague left to spend a week in Poland and dropped by the KOMJAUNIMO TIESA editorial office immediately upon his return. We conversed in Lithuanian.

Not everything has probably been said in this interview.... Not all the questions have been asked, possibly we didn't argue enough. We did not retrace the highways and byways of history: Were we to begin with the period of Jadvyga and Jogaila, we would still be talking. Those readers who were expecting a battle, resembling the one which appeared in VAKARINES NAUJIENOS, between R. Taraila and V. Ivanovas, will be disappointed. But there will be no disappointment for those who are tired, or maybe never did desire to put up barricades and issue orders: I will stand here, but you go there....

[Adomaityte] Do you receive angry, and threatening letters?

[Sinkievicius] I don't. Organizations around me, do, however.

[Adomaityte] I would not wish on you the type of letters [illegible] Sajudis did something wrong with the Poles or it has failed to do something. What was Sajudis supposed to do?

[Sinkievicius] Very complicated questions.

[Adomaityte] Yes, complicated. However, they need to be asked, and answered once, perhaps.

[Sinkievicius] Philosophically speaking, it would be difficult to do anything. National rebirth is taking place and since it is national, it is difficult to find time for anything else. We may theorize: If Sajudis leaders had found the time for other nationalities' rebirth, "Yedinstvo" ideas could hardly have arisen. Finally, even Sajudis admitted it had made some mistakes....

[Adomaityte] I noticed you at the first Sajudis meeting with Poles. Do you recall, last summer?

[Sinkievicius] I would consider my speech the biggest mistake. We have run out of and are lacking political experience and discussion culture. This is apparently not just a shortcoming in our republic. Perhaps this is an East European shortcoming?

[Adomaityte] Do you think we will learn?

[Sinkievicius] It is very easy to lose one's culture. To acquire it however! Imagine that someone throws a television set out the window. That's simple. Try and assemble it, however! I read pre-war literature. How everything repeats itself. We only think we have thought of something new: Poles in Lithuania status, and status of Vilnija. After all, it was of concern then, and earlier. If we all learn how to approach the ideal, if we learn how to agree (but it is very difficult to agree), we will resolve the problems, finally. If not—long years of confrontation await us.

[Adomaityte] I find the Poles' throwing themselves into "Yedinstvo" strange. Although, if one were to regard it more deeply....

[Sinkievicius] Your newpaper is interesting and popular, however, with your permission, I will use another tribunal to discuss "Yedinstvo."

I would think, the word "Yednoshch" will not be needed there.

[Adomaityte]—Unity—also. About the conference. The association became Lithuanian Poles Association, during its course.

[Sinkievicius] The association has not been registered yet.

[Adomaityte] I am not a bureaucrat. Let's call it association and talk about it. You are now faced not with cultural activity alone?

[Sinkievicius] Culture, first of all, but not exclusively. This was the situation: We used to be told to busy ourselves with culture and not to meddle in politics. That was convenient for "Yedinstvo," we shall defend Polish rights. Now, we have incorporated into the association's statutes: We will defend Polish political and citizens' rights. We wish to represent Poles in every respect. A legal basis is required for the functioning of culture and education.

[Adomaityte] How are Polish rights violated, in actuality?

[Sinkievicius] If every citizen is entitled to study in his own language, why then, is this to be only in middle school? Why not in higher schools? Is such an exclusion normal? The ideal would be to have a separate Polish higher school.

[Adomaityte] Separate? What if the Karaims and the Jews should happen to require separate schools? I don't know whether there exists anything similar in other countries of the world. Let's say, in Poland, where there are not only Poles, but Jews, Lithuanians, and Belorussians. What special facilities could exist there?

[Sinkievicius] If the need arises, it will be the duty of the State and society to fill the need. There are many examples of this in the world. There exist six Arab universities in Israel. As far as Poland is concerned.... According to an agreement between Lithuanian and Polish ministers of culture, a Lithuanian language department is already functioning in Poznan. Vilnius University has no Polish language department at the moment. If Poland's ethnic minorities (there are 2 percent) demand it, I think, their demands will be met. Specialties...culture, education. Perhaps not just for Lithuanian Poles. Maybe students would come from Belorussia, the Ukraine, and Siberia. Providing this for the Poles alone is maybe too good? Perhaps this could become a higher school for ethnic minorities? That way, the university would remain Lithuanian with all those who would like to study there, studying the Lithuanian language. This would include Poles, Jews, and Tatars. Naturally, some Russians, also. Although, I don't know whether they will feel such a need. For us Poles, this would indeed be a matter of great importance. If such a school is not established, there will be need for separate Polish groups at the university. Let's suppose Salcininkai Rayon were to estimate it needs a certain number of health workers. Local graduates are given study assignments and return upon completion of their studies.

[Adomaityte] If they don't start a successful family in Vilnius. The proposal is interesting, but would they learn Lithuanian there?

[Sinkievicius] Certainly.

[Adomaityte] I have always found it very peculiar that Poles attend Russian, rather than Polish schools. Why?

[Sinkievicius] Conditions, first of all. Imagine an elementary school at a distance of 3 km, a middle school at a distance of 15 km. The parents feel sorry for the child and send him to the closer one. In addition, they hear Russian on television, the child sees it in the press, officials are also Russian. A stereotype is formed.

[Adomaityte] If you're Russian, you are human.

[Sinkievicius] Yes. A strange type evolves: not a Lithuanian, a Pole, or a Russian. It was apparently advantageous for some to form such an individual.

[Adomaityte] If we are talking about your and our national rebirth, then children are of vital importance. Will Polish children have their own organizations, harcerai [translation unavailable, scouting, probably], for instance?

[Sinkievicius] We also visualize the need to have harcerai. We have invited instructors, who will teach the enthusiasts. Lithuanian scouts and Polish harcerai will share the motto: "Be Prepared."

[Adomaityte] What do the Polish schools lack the most?

[Sinkievicius] Primarily, good Polish language training. Good Lithuanian language training, likewise. Lithuanian language teachers are not able to carry out their mission everywhere. The Poles, moreover, are not that willing to study Lithuanian. That's where the problem arises—pretensions exist on both sides. Why don't you know Polish? Why didn't you teach me? This is one of the many reasons for the current confrontation. In the final analysis, there are not enough schools, either. Tell me why there are so many Russian schools in Salcininkai and Svencioniai Rayons? Was there an ethnic basis for this? Lithuanian, Belorussian, or Polish schools are a different matter. I am very happy to hear that a Belorussian school is being readied in Vilnius—this will be a world event. There are none in Minsk or in any other Belorussian city—but there will be one in Lithuania.

[Adomaityte] I know that schools can not be mixed. If the school is Russian-Polish, it becomes Russian, anyway. Instruction is conducted in Russian (to dream about Lithuanian—is utopian). If anything is permitted in Polish, it consists maybe of poetry recitation and Polish.

[Sinkievicius] Well, this perhaps is not by force. This might simply attest to the fact that in daily relationships Polish culture is higher.

[Adomaityte] The famous Polish "proshe" [please]?

[Sinkievicius] Yes. Let's speak Russian so our guest will feel comfortable. The problems don't end here. What about after school? Assimilation. Tractor specialists at the Bukiskiai Professional School will study Polish. So we will have "national" tractor specialists. However, what if we desire diplomats and actors? A clever and industrious Pole can study in Lithuanian. Good, if he starts to feel that he's Lithuanian and only thought earlier that he was Polish. But things don't happen like that. An inner process of denationalization is taking place and I don't like it at all. An individual who renounces his language and his traditions feels he is doing something wrong.

[Adomaityte] And he doesn't live well?

[Sinkievicius] Not necessarily. A person can manufacture all kinds of excuses for himself: life forced him, others will only recognize me, on that basis. Moreover, there are many such people. Look at our scientists. We have 60 science candidates and doctors who are listed as Poles on their passports. Only a half of their number, maybe fewer, send their children to Polish schools.

[Adomaityte] Are there any plans for establishing a USSR Polish Association? The Germans have already done so.

[Sinkievicius] See, what a pity you didn't stay until the end of the conference.

[Adomaityte] I have already told you that the conference was conducted in Polish, I could not understand everything. Besides, do you recall what kind of weekend that was, how many things were going on? I knew that I was also needed elsewhere. Adomaityte's presence was hardly required by you?

[Sinkievicius] Now, how could Adomaityte not be needed? On the contrary, we need her very much. There will be many more occasions.

[Adomaityte] I'll come. Following this conversation, it will also be easier for my readers, who have accused me of God knows what: hatred for the Poles and the Russians. I think this time they will not write to me with accusations: You lie.

[Sinkievicius] Are we going to read the manuscript together?

[Adomaityte] Certainly. So now, about the association.

[Sinkievicius] Some Polish representatives from Belorussia, Leningrad, Kazakhstan, Estonia, Latvia, and the Ukraine attended. We showed them the draft and let them discuss it upon their return. In the fall, we will meet again in Vilnius to establish an association or coordinative council. We have to think about it some more.

[Adomaityte] Is there a membership of Lithuanian Poles in the association?

[Sinkievicius] Yes. When they register, we will also have a list.

[Adomaityte] Do you have a building?

[Sinkievicius] We have 100 square meters on Didzioji St. It was formerly an apartment.

[Adomaityte] You have separated yourselves from the culture fund. Was that really necessary?

[Sinkievicius] The fund did assist us. However, it also...hindered us. Too much documentation. Say, a quick trip to Poland was necessary. We write to the fund; the fund also writes, carries it to the ministry. I think Professor Kudaba will understand us.

[Adomaityte] The professor might understand you, perhaps. I would not say, however, the rest of Lithuania would have understood you.

[Sinkievicius] I can explain. The culture fund does not concern itself with the same type of things, as we do—political, social, juridical. We were never subsidized by the fund. Of course, it provided moral support. Secondly, what if the fund didn't like our activity? It would annul us.... That is not what is important. Why not try to be independent? The culture fund has enough work without us.

[Adomaityte] What made you take up this type of activity? Are you of a public involvement personality type or did you feel a sense of obligation toward your nation?

[Sinkievicius] Perhaps Freud could answer that. I can't. Apparently this type of fate was meant for me and one can not turn away from fate. If, after a few years, another person will appear—I will be able to continue the dissertation I have started.

[Adomaityte] On what subject?

[Sinkievicius] "Poles in Lithuania, In the Postwar Years." It is an untouched subject.

[Adomaityte] I am aware of the fact that Polish graduates go to study in Poland. Do they want this?

[Sinkievicius] They very much want to go, but we don't want to allow them to go there anymore.

[Adomaityte] Lest they stay in Poland?

[Sinkievicius] Yes. I recently visited Poland. The most gifted ones are about to be married. Imagine—we are giving away the best blood of Vilnija. We have set up a system whereby: They pay us R1000 upon departure, we pay them R1500 upon their return.

[Adomaityte] In cases of an intense love affair—they would not begrudge even R2000.

[Sinkievicius] Thus, a different concept is needed. Let's say that they were to spend 3 years of study there, but would receive their diploma here. I would like to see the day when one can study anywhere one wants to—Cambridge, Oxford, and from there back to our country.

[Adomaityte] Yes, I would like that, too. Do you believe in what you are doing?

[Sinkievicius] And you, Lithuanians, do you believe in it?

[Adomaityte] Good answer, although, in asking I was not thinking about the Lithuanians or the Poles, but you, personally.

[Sinkievicius] If I didn't believe in this, I would do something else. There are many things to do: Make money, sit in the "Lietuva" bar. Certain individuals do sit there very quietly.

[Adomaityte] What have we not accomplished yet?

[Sinkievicius] The press. In the event Lithuanian-Polish relations do not further improve.

Jogaila will again be a traitor, again it will be regarded as a bad union, again Pildsudsky. What is happening here? Some are searching for one, some for the other, in the same pages of history. Hydronimics, toponimics. If the land is Lithuanian, there should be no Poles here. The result? Some individual in Panevezys or Pasvalys will read that and say: Again, these Poles want to rob us of Vilnija and take it away, either with "Solidarity" or with the Polish Goverment. We ourselves are journalists. We can talk now, we can think of common subjects and plan other discussions. Whatever we did wrong is our fault. But.... What is the church doing? We sat down more than once with Sajudis leaders, V. Landsbergis, R. Ozolas, V. Cepaitis, and K. Motieka and talked with them. A common platform is being initiated, although it is very complicated. The church, however? What happened on Sunday, the 23d of April? The Poles joined those participating in the mournful march by the Archcathedral, held to commemorate The Georgian victims. The Polish mass which had been promised did not take place. So many emotions, such a stressful situation. One wave; another wave. Crowds are uncontrollable. This time it was avoided. Thank God. Whether I am a believer or not is not important in this case. If we are talking about tolerance, however, the Church should be the first to teach it.

[Adomaityte] We have the same God.

[Sinkievicius] God is one and the pope is one. Now, however, it is as if there were two. The priest should not scold the little old lady for voting for atheist Ciechanovicius. The old lady, herself a Pole, voted for a Pole. This seemed better in her view. Goebbels had stated that when he heard the word culture he wanted to draw his gun. We should require not a pistol, but—I don't know—apparently, we should look for a cross. We may, possibly, somehow straighten out the economy. Call me a utopian and a realist, but I believe we will straighten it out. The Lithuanians and the Poles are industrious people, thank God, and they can yet accomplish much good. I doubt very much that it is worth continuing to try to prove to our Mazulis that he is not Polish. Yes, his name is Lithuanian, but we Poles do not have a better Polish poet at the moment. In general, I would like to conclude this interview in the same manner that I finished my speech at the congress: to your freedom and ours.

[Adomaityte] Yes, you could conclude thus. I want to ask you, however, how old you are?

[Sinkievicius] Thirty-three and a half.

[Adomaityte] We're almost the same age. I sometimes stop to consider that fate has not treated us very nicely. Why must we solve problems for which we are not responsible?

[Sinkievicius] No, No, wait. If I feel proud to be a Pole, it isn't just a whim. If you can regard past achievements as your own, however, then be good and know how to be responsible.

[Reporter] Well then—let us try. Thank you for the interview.

Lithuanian TV Carries Religious Programs

LD1107100989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1615 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Excerpts] Vilnius, 10 Jul (TASS)—TASS correspondent Vida Lyutsiya Gavelene reports:

Last Sunday, viewers of Lithuanian television heard the Catholic greeting "glory to Jesus Christ...." This is how the religious broadcast started—the first in the 3 decades of television in this Soviet Baltic republic. Henceforth, it will be on the air every Sunday. Viewers will receive information about the most important events in church life. Besides these broadcasts, there will be direct broadcasts from the churches during religious festivals. [passage omitted]

Medvedev Meets With Estonian Labor Leaders

PM2107105289 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 8 Jul 89 p 1

[ETA report by R. Amos, A. Kaazik, F. Kaazik, and L. Sher on V.A. Medvedev visit to Estonia: "Frank Discussion"]

[Text] As has already been reported, in the afternoon of 6 July V.A. Medvedev, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met with the leaders of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] United Council of Labor Collectives.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary was informed that 160 enterprises, mainly under union and union republican jurisdiction and employing more than 125,000 people, belong to the United Council of Labor Collectives. The representatives of the United Council of Labor Collectives expressed concern over the situation that has developed in the republic. They said that a split is devleoping on national grounds, and not only in the labor collectives, but also in Estonia's party organization. National issues are causing an impasse in the resolution of many urgent problems. The Russian-speaking population feels anxiety and uncertainty about its future. There were many criticisms of the Law on Language and other republican legislative acts that have been adopted or discussed. Some representatives of the United Council of Labor Collectives based their remarks on facts that have nothing in common with reality. V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, who took part in the meeting, was twice forced to draw attention to this.

Much was said about priority among nations. The main view was that it is impermissible for one nation to have more civil rights than people of another nationality. In the opinion of the United Council of Labor Collectives representatives, the atmosphere in the repbulic is deteriorating. A considerable role is played in this by the republican press, radio, and television. Points of contact must be sought, but unfortunately people are now beginning to lose faith in the possibility of sitting at the negotiating table, and the Russian-speaking population has developed a distrust of the republican leadership. The rather ill-considered speeches of certain leaders were cited as the reason for this. And a lack of confidence in the government means a lack of confidence in tomorrow.

At a meeting with V.A. Medvedev, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on 7 July, the Interdvizheniye [International Movement] leadership had substantial representation. Sitting at the table where the talk took place were V. Kiyemets, Ye. Kogan, K. Kopytina, O. Morozov, A. Panchul, L. Polishchuk, V. Pilipenko, Yu. Popov, Yu. Rudyak, and Yu. Stefanovskiy.

Here is what was discussed. The principles of restructuring—improving people's socioeconomic situation, forming a rule-of-law state, and developing glasnost—show certain distortions in our republic, and that is very worrying. The Russian-speaking population is subjected to psychological pressure from the mass media. The formulation of all draft laws takes place without the participation of the Russian-speaking population, and laws are adopted with almost total abstention by Russian-speaking deputies. Russian-speaking enterprises are being squeezed out of the production sphere. Servicemen and their families suffer discrimination. A draft law on elections to local soviets was published recently. The residential qualifications set in the draft law effectively exclude tens of thousands of people from elections. There were also complaints that the republic is refusing to register Interdvizheniye, on the grounds of infidelity to the decisions of the 11th Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum.

The Interdvizheniye representatives claimed that the split that can be observed in the republic is not national, but political. The situation with Estonians who do not share the opinion of the People's Front is such that they are forced either to be kept quiet or to expect outright pressure. The republic is divided not on Russian-Estonian lines, but in terms of attitudes to the party, and, most importantly, attitudes to the Soviet Union.

The rights of national minorities are being flouted in the republic, the Interdvizheniye representatives stated. If it goes on like this, O. Morozov said, we will be forced to raise the question of forming an autonomous political unit inside the Estonian SSR, for instance, forming an East Baltic Autonomous Oblast. The platform for consolidation, in the opinion of Interdvizheniye members, is for the USSR's laws to be observed unreservedly on Estonian territory. At the moment this is not happening.

The Interdvizheniye members raised this question: On the basis of what principles is restructuring to be implemented in the republic? On the principle of the total paramountcy of the republic's indigenous nation, or on the principle of equality of the republic's nationalities? They consider this a key question.

V.A. Medvedev expressed the desire that the participants in the meeting give more consideration to the general background of the development of interethnic relations. New approaches have emerged and basically at the Central Committee plenum it will be a question of a new nationalities policy that differs substantially from the one that has hitherto existed. It will be a question of new approaches to the federal system, which will have to be endowed with new, weightier content. It must be taken into account that alongside the very real processes of internationalization in public life, the economy, and social development, there is also another, opposite trend. That is the trend to fuller self-expression by a nation. A nation's self-determination is constantly developing, and that must be seen with understanding. A nation's self-determination is a legitimate and necessary process, but should not, of course, be exercised at the expense of others. The main problem now is to find the right combination of self-determination and civil rights. This is a difficult task, but it must be tackled, otherwise irremediable damage will be done. V.A. Medvedev stressed that he sees only one path: the path of constructive, meaningful—not emotional—dialogue. We must rid ourselves of emotion and look at things more realistically on both sides. All ultimatums in statements and demands are unacceptable.

And another meeting. V.A. Medvedev met with representatives of the Estonian People's Front. Kh. Aasmyae, O. Bazanov, R. Veydemann, K. Gerndorf, Yu. Kayevats, M. Lauristin, E. Savisaar, and A. Yunti took part in the interesting and useful discussion.

R. Veydemann briefly described the Estonian People's Front and briefed V.A. Medvedev on the main avenues of its activity. Yu. Kayevats stressed that the People's Front sees it as one of its main tasks to develop a mechanism for the general democratization of society. A. Aasmyae commented in more detail on some program goals of the People's Front. In particular, he stressed that the People's Front supports the inclusion of residence qualifications in the law on elections. There was an exchange of opinions between V.A. Medvedev and the People's Front representatives on the question of electoral qualifications, and both positive and negative aspects of such qualifications were noted.

At V.A. Medvedev's request E. Savisaar described the attitude of the People's Front toward IME [Estonian Self-Management]. Questions of the relationship between the Estonian Communist Party and the People's Front were also touched on. Some 25 percent of People's Front members are party members. Since the party is not united now, in the opinion of many People's Front representatives, many Communists support the most radical possible People's Front program.

The People's Front representatives also expressed their attitude to the Estonian Communist Party program and the Estonian Communist Party platform for the CPSU Central Committee plenum on nationalities policy.

There was also an exchange of opinions on the formation of national troop units and the organization of young people's service in the Army.

To conclude the meeting V.A. Medvedev said that constructive dialogue requires the combination of two elements: the forms of national self-determination in present-day conditions of the equality of nations, that is, the sovereignty of the nation, and the problems of observing general civil rights.

At a meeting with representatives of the republic's creative intelligentsia CPSU Central Committee Secretary V. Medvedev said that the purpose of his visit is not to resolve any specific problem, but to study life in Estonia, have contacts and talks with people, and gather impressions.

Beginning the exchange of opinions, V. Beekman said:

On the eve of the plenum on national relations, we clearly feel that our internal life is lacking in the new political thinking that has brought positive results in international relations. The writer stressed that conflict on grounds of nationality does not exist as such, but there is conflict between two ways of thinking—imperial and democratic.

The destabilization of the situation was promoted by uncontrolled immigration, which took place with the consent and connivance of the republic's top leadership and the central authorities. The question of language is directly associated with this. The teaching of the Estonian language was considered unnecessary and a knowledge of it was not obligatory. The new Law on Language is designed to remedy the situation. All the same, there are people who see the law as a violation of human rights. This is another manifestation of imperial thinking.

Much is being done in the republic to develop national cultures. Dozens of national minority cultural centers have been set up, and cultural autonomy is being developed. Complaints on national grounds are voiced mainly by those who came to Estonia by way of immigration. They do not understand that Estonia is not simply a territory, but a national republic, and it is inhabited not by a population, but by a nation.

Civil rights must be respected, that is axiomatic, and at the same time another right should be respected—the peoples' right to self-determination.

E. Pyldroos noted that in order to understand today's trends among Estonians it is necessary to analyze the entire path of development of Soviet power in Estonia. It should be honestly admitted that in 50 years the Soviet Union has not become a motherland for us. Why not? I see two reasons. The first is economic. In the prewar years Estonia was a comparatively developed state. Now nothing remains of that position. On the basis of this example, it is very hard for people to see the advantages of socialism. The second reason is that the Estonian people have lived their entire history under the threat of extinction. The recent immigration has increased this threat, and hence the fear for their future. Unless the sense of fear is eradicated from the minds of the indigenous people of Estonia, there can be no question of stabilizing the political situation.

V. Medvedev:

"What specifically should be done?"

[Pyldroos] "Immigration must stop. And the people who have come here should become accustomed to the republic's peculiarities and become involved in the Estonian cultural process."

E. Pyldroos added that in discussing immigration processes there can be no question of forced repatriation. True, Pskov Oblast has suffered depopulation, but for the people to return, economic incentives are needed, not administrative measures.

K. Komissarov noted that the more economically developed republics suffered more than anyone as a result of leveling.

Ya. Yyeryuyut also spoke about immigration. Dialogue with immigrants is complicated by the fact that the human torrent is indomitable, some arrive, others leave. Immigration is in essence contrary to elementary social law, because new arrivals obtain every benefit more easily than the indigenous population.

Ya. Kangilaski, in his speech, dwelt on the problems of obtaining education in Estonian and Russian and mutual contacts between national cultures.

The main theses of Yulo Tuulik's speech was the question of the continuity and preservation of culture. He said: "Some people think that we owe our continued existence to song festivals and national costume, but that is not true. The basis of our existence is the national principle of the intelligentsia." Yu. Tuulik also put to V. Medvedev the question of the openness of the city of Tartu.

Ya. Kaarma spoke about the problems facing the Committee for Culture, especially those associated with the overcentralization of management and the limited nature of foreign ties. Only with the widening of the republic's sovereignty is it possible fully to develop national culture.

K. Kiysk recalled his years of study in Moscow and his wise, educated, and intelligent Russian teachers, who were his guides on the paths of learning.

"But all the same, people talk about our elder brother, to whom we are supposedly still indebted. How long will this go on? This myth about the elder brother has become a crooked mirror of real friendship. Simplistic expressions destroy intellectualism. My colleagues in Moscow and Leningrad understand me, but the majority of the local Russian-speaking population do not."

Concluding the meeting, V. Medvedev noted that since representatives of the creative intelligentsia have touched on questions concerning the republic's problems, they have no complaints about the cultural policy of restructuring. The development of democracy has shown that it is time to rid ourselves of the administrative edict style of management in the sphere of culture.

We are in favor of ideological and cultural pluralism, but on socialist principles. We should really defend socialist values, at the same time eliminating all distortions in cultural and humanitarian policy. We should uphold the development of national cultures, because this is our main wealth and must not be neglected. V. Medvedev said that it is necessary to take a critical view of the slogans that were dominant for decades, that assert the socialist content and national form of culture.

In the afternoon members and candidate members of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, leaders of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers, first secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms, and chiefs of Central Committee departments assembled at the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. In the course of a comradely talk there was a discussion of the need to reorganize party work and increase the party's prestige, and interethnic relations and the party's nationalities policy were discussed. Among economic problems, the most important on the agenda was the question of IME. In connection with the sovereignty of union republics, the question of greater autonomy for the republic Communist Party was discussed. V. Medvedev agreed with the view that the Estonian Communist Party needs its own practical program of action, but at the same time stressed that the structure of party and state organs need not necessarily coincide.

On the same day V.A. Medvedev left Tallinn. He was seen off at the airport by Comrades V. Vyalyas, G. Aleshin, N. Ganyushov, K. Kortelaynen, A. Ryuytel, E.-A. Sillari, M. Titma, and I. Toome.

Kazakh Party Head on Leaders' Responsibility

LD2407150289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] The production of metal is directly linked to the work of the miners. Coke batteries at the Karaganda metallurgical plant in Soviet Kazakhstan are again operating normally. Suplies of coal from the Shakhtinsk mines have resumed. Colliers of this town were the first in the Karaganda coal basin to stop work in support of the Kuzbass miners' strike on 20 July. They resumed work on Saturday night [22 July] when the situation in the basin had returned to normal. Today all the 26 mines of the Karagandaugol [Karaganda coal production association] amalgamation of the basin, which ranks third among the country's coal-mining regions, put coal out at the regular rate.

The path to mutual understanding and a constructive solution of the issues that have become troublesome was not simple. At a meeting held in the oblast party commitee on 23 July, Comrade Nazarbayev, the first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, stressed that one of the paragraphs in the protocol of coordinating measures signed by the government and party commission and the strike committee concerns the responsibility of the leaders of oblast organizations and enterprises due to their prolonged failure to tackle socioeconomic issues to hold multi-candidate elections.

Comrade Nazarbayev said that it is necessary to be resolute in ridding oneself of the leaders who ignore the social demands of the working people. When electing new leaders, one ought to trust more the opinion of the rank and file workers. What is impermissible is the situation that has arisen at the Karagandaugol association, where essentially all directors of the mines have been appointed from above. The style and methods of work in many party committees are in need of radical reconsideration.

New Organization Formed in Armenian Republic

NC2407165589 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1600 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Text] A new organization called the Chronicle for Armenian Historical Enlightenment [Hushamatyan Haykakan Patmalusavorchakan Unkerutyun] has been formed in the republic. It is a public organization acting with the framework of our country's Constitution. Disregard for humanitarian and moral principles, transgression of the law, discrimination, and violations of human rights are incompatible with our society's constitution, the objective of which is to contribute to the condemnation of arbitrariness and oppression and to study the background of and causes for the lawlessness that has taken place in the country's history.

The society's constituent conference took place at the Architects House in the capital, with historians, intellectuals, art and cultural workers, journalists, scientists, and people who were victims of repression at different periods, as well as their relatives, taking part.

Vartan Musheghyan, leader of the organizing group, pedagogue, and painter, said in his opening speech that the chains fettering us have broken, that our people have attained self-awareness and self-assertiveness, and that under the present conditions of democratization we must study the reasons for the repression under Stalinism.

After his speech, the agenda of the meeting was drawn up. Sergey Vartanyan, journalist and chairman of the organizing committee, spoke about the problems and aims of the society:

[Begin Vartanyan recording] Our conference is being held under the new political conditions that have emerged in our republic. An explosive situation has developed in the region which must be urgently confronted. Underlying this situation is the occasional exacerbation of the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], which recurs every time a high-level delegation prepares to visit that long-suffering land. We all know that the NKAO and the entire Armenian people fell victim to the plot of Stalin and the pro-Musavite [party in Azerbaijan before its incorporation into the Soviet Union] leaderhip of Soviet Azerbaijan at that time. However, in the self-destruction of the society that [words indistinct], henceforth we must not allow the repetition of this nightmare. Here you see a placard inscribed with the slogan "Never again." Henceforth, we will not let anyone speak on our behalf and tell us how to live or what to believe in or how to educate our children. Henceforth, we will never allow anyone to diminish our human integrity and impose his will on us. I am deeply convinced that unless this radical shift in our consciousness takes place, our community cannot become free and democratic. Our public organization should unite in its ranks all those who want to study the conditions and causes of the lawlessness that took place in the history of our country. [end recording]

Candidate Doctor of History (Amatuni Biraryan) then provided a brief historical narrative. Other speakers put forth their proposals, criticisms, and follow-up proposals.

'Revival' Group Chief on Prospects for Germans

LD1407090189 Moscow TASS in English 0446 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 13 TASS—By TASS correspondent Viktor Chistyakov;

"The all-union society of Soviet Germans called 'Revival' sees its top-priority task in starting a dialogue with all parties interested in restoration of historical justice with respect to this two-million people. All conditions have been created now to start a practical settlement of this question," Hugo Wormsbecher, co-chairman of the all-union society and chairman of the Moscow Organization of Soviet Germans, told TASS.

The Congress of People's Deputies and the recent speech by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev over Central Television graphically showed that the country's political leadership treats with understanding aspirations of Soviet Germans and is ready for joint work to draft decisions of principle, he noted. "The first but very important step on this difficult and long road has been already made," he said. "We learned with satisfaction yesterday that a commission on problems of Soviet Germans was set up at the USSR Supreme Soviet on the instruction of the Congress of People's Deputies."

The Revival society and all Germans living in the Soviet Union are ready for a dialogue and cooperation with the commission of the Supreme Soviet, the society co-chairman pointed out in his words, the question on restoration of statehood of Soviet Germans is very difficult, since it directly affects several hundred thousand people (not only Germans). "Therefore, we are interested in making the work of the commission as open as possible and in enlisting the services of the public at large and of experts," he said.

Hugo Wormsbecher, 51, was born in the city of Marx on the territory of the former autonomous republic of Germans in the Volga area. In 1941 the Wormsbecher family, as well as all other Germans living in the republic, were deported beyond the Urals. Later, Wormsbecher graduated from the Moscow Polygraphic Institute. Now he is editor of the literary anthology "HEIMATLICHE WEITEN" ("NATIVE EXPANSES") published in the USSR in German.

Belorussian People's Front Congress Request Refused

PM2107143389 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 24 Jun 89 p 1

[BELTA correspondent report: "At the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] On 23 and 24 May first Minsk City Soviet Executive Committee [gorispolkom] and then the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium received applications signed by representatives of the Belorussian People's Front Organizational Committee requesting assistance in holding their constituent congress in the city of Minsk 24-25 June 1989.

These applications were considered by Minsk Gorispolkom and the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium with the participation of two official representatives of the organizational committee. On the grounds that in their public statements those responsible for initiating the formation of the Belorussian People's Front had repeatedly expressed views running counter to legislation, it was suggested that they submit their draft program and statutes. They refused to comply with this request.

Despite this, the official bodies of Minsk City and the republic showed patience and a fresh attempt was made to find a mutually acceptable solution to the situation.

On 13 June a repeat meeting was held at the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium with official representatives of the Belorussian People's Front Organizational Committee, and 3 days later just the draft statutes were submitted.

On 19 June a sitting of Minsk Gorispolkom was held to which all members of the organizational committee were again personally invited. Four representatives of the organizational committee attended this sitting, but it appeared impossible to resolve any specific issues with them.

What is more, members of the gorispolkom were given an ultimatum: If a positive decision were not taken within 2 hours on the application made by the organizational committee, the constituent congress of the Belorussian People's Front would be held in Vilnius City, where premises had already been made available to them.

On 20 June a meeting was held at the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium involving the chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet, the deputy chairman of the Presidium, the secretary and members of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, senior officials from the republic's Council of Ministers, Public Prosecutor's Office, and Ministry of Justice, and 12 representatives of the Belorussian People's Front Organizational Committee.

There was an exchange of opinions at the meeting and it was again proposed that the draft program be submitted together with information on the procedure for delegation to the proposed congress. Members of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium proposed that the Belorussian People's Front Congress be postponed and that, in the meantime, the necessary documents be studied and discussion of the question resumed subsequent to this. The representatives of the organizational committee did not agree to these requests and proposals, as a result of which it was made clear to them that their application could not be granted at the present time.

Your BELTA correspondent asked A.I. Tishkevich, member of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and V.I. Mikhasev, chairman of Minsk Gorispolkom, to comment on this announcement by the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

V.I. Mikhasev:

The recent Congress of USSR People's Deputies unequivocally stressed that it is necessary to consolidate all forces around the soviets of people's deputies to resolve the tasks of restructuring. That is why it is more important today then ever before to be able to separate the grain from the chaff and have a clear idea of what exactly will contribute to the success of restructuring and what will achieve the reverse—slow its progress. Tolerance, the ability to listen, and the desire to seek compromise are needed. In my view, this is precisely what has been lacking in the representatives of the so-called Belorussian People's Front Organizational Committee. Take, for example, the gorispolkom sitting held 19 June. It considered the application made by the organizational committee to hold their constituent congress in Minsk. But, despite the fact that all members of the organizational committee were invited to it, only four official representatives actually turned up. So there was no dialogue.

[Correspondent] Why?

[Mikhasev] Because the representatives of the organizational committee issued an ultimatum: If the question of staging the Belorussian People's Front Congress in Minsk was not decided favorably by 1900 hours 19 June, the Belorussian People's Front Organizational Committee would appeal to the government and people of Lithuania. In confirmation of these words, V. Zhibul read out this appeal, which said, in particular, that one of the reasons for holding the congress in Lithuania is that detachments of militia and internal forces with sapper shovels, batons, and tear gas are already on the alert in Minsk. And, since the organizational committee does not have the right to place congress delegates and guests in jeopardy, we request short-term political asylum from the Lithuanian Government for the 500-600 congress participants. Zhibul stressed that all the Lithuanian mass media are controlled by "Sajudis" and so their appeal would be guaranteed publication.

Another statement that can be described as nothing other than blasphemous was also made at the meeting: "We will also be going to Lithuania because we do not want a repetition in Minsk of the events in Tbilisi and China."

In answer to the question of why they were appealing to the Lithuanian people on behalf of the Belorussian people, Zhibul frankly said that in this particular instance they were speaking on his behalf.

When the discussion got onto the question of submitting the draft program documents of the proposed front for perusal and setting another date for the congress in this connection, the representatives refused to continue the discussion. In answer to the question "Why the secrecy?" V. Zhibul said: "That is all we are empowered to say."

[Correspondent] At the meeting the representatives of the organizational committee put forward the theory in their appeal that Minsk is creating artificial barriers to the establishment of new social formations and associations in the republic....

[Mikhasev] This process is complicated and at times contradictory, which essentially reflects the situation in the country as a whole. But the Ecological Union and the Union of Teachers have recently appeared in the republic, while the Union of Consumers and the Belorussian Language Society are preparing to hold their constituent congresses. Evidently, the logic is that today no constructive initiative can be turned aside, as long as it is to the benefit of restructuring. [Mikhasev ends]

Your BELTA correspondent learned that Z. Poznyak had been invited to a talk at the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee that day. Having agreed to a meeting, he changed his mind at the last moment and sent his representatives instead—O. Belousov and N. Kotvitskaya; the latter, incidentally is not a member of the organizational committee. After a conversation lasting more than 3 hours they agreed that the draft program and statutes, signed by members of the organizational committee, would be submitted to the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium the following day. Despite this promise, only the draft statutes were actually submitted.

Incidentally, the members of the organizational committee have always claimed that these documents are not ready. But they have been extensively published as alternatives in the foreign press and samizdat leaflets. They question the leading role of the CPSU, propose to establish the supremacy of republic legislation over all-union legislation, to have their own national military formations, to adopt a law on Belorussian SSR citizenship which would give preference to persons of indigenous nationality, and so forth.

A.I. Tishkevich:
An attempt was made to find a common language at the 20 June meeting at the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, when it was suggested to the representatives of the organizational committee that the congress be postponed so that the organizational committee could calmly complete the draft program and submit it together with the draft statutes for publication in the republic press. This would give everyone who wished to the opportunity to read the programmatic documents. However, Z. Poznyak replied that the program would be made available only after the congress had been held. He had no qualms about resorting to a concealed threat, saying that the formation of the Belorussian People's Front is also necessary because, according to him, the organizational committee is afraid that it will not be able to **control the situation in the republic**. According to him, anything could happen, some people had already gone on hunger strike, so, although we are against such methods of political struggle.... It is perfectly obvious that there was nothing good or constructive in these statements.

Clearly, in these conditions the Presidium simply did not have the moral right to approve the staging of the congress and the formation of an organization whose aims and tasks are so well disguised.

[Correspondent] What do other members of the Presidium think of the statement by the representatives of the organizational committee?

[Tishkevich] Addressing the meeting, I. Naumenko, chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet and well-known Belorussian writer, stressed that he cannot see the necessity for forming a people's front today, because he cannot see how this organization could strengthen the nationwide struggle for restructuring in the country.

"The Congress of USSR People's Deputies in Moscow showed," Ivan Yakovlevich said, "that we no longer have areas closed to criticism and that all aspects of life in our society are being subjected to the deepest possible analysis. There is no need today to set up various fronts—we need to act as a united front. What the organizational committee is proposing is a soapbox democracy which could well be swamped by waves of extremism. Today, when both economic and political power is being transferred to the soviets of people's deputies, the confrontation of different fronts will only damage the cause of restructuring. And how can a group of people adopting a program and statutes without popular discussion be a people's front? You can only speak on behalf of the people with their consent and approval," I. Naumenko said in conclusion.

[Correspondent] How did the conversation end?

[Tishkevich] Summing up the results of the meetin, V. Mikulich, deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, said that, despite all the efforts of members of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, no solution acceptable to both sides had been found. The representatives of the Belorussian People's Front Organizational Committee were to blame for this. "We cannot stop you from holding your congress nor are we stopping you," V. Mikulich said. "Go ahead and hold it—but remember, we are still going to need a consolidation of forces in the future. The people are not going to reject the slogan 'All power to the soviets,' whatever 'people's' fronts stir them up. It is a Leninist slogan. Both the party and the government are aware of the serious problems, and only by pooling our efforts will we resolve them better and more rapidly."

To be frank, I get the impression that the organizational committee had decided to hold its forum in the neighboring republic even before our meetings began. I hope that in the future common sense will prevail and confrontation will give way to dialogue and cooperation.

Belorussian Gosteleradio Head on Language Use

18300736 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 4 Jul 89 p 2

[Interview with Belorussian SSR Gosteleradio Chairman Gennadiy Buravkin, by V. Zenkovich: "While Bringing Back, We Do Not Take Away..."]

[Text] The first installment of the educational serial "We Speak Belorussian" aired on the republic television. Its goal is to teach all those who so desire, and mainly...the Belorussians themselves, one of the prettiest Slavic languages. Could it be that the situation with the language of a multimillion people is such that many have to start learning it from the very beginning? A TASS correspondent approached with this question Chairman of the Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Gosteleradio [State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting] Gennadiy Buravkin.

"Indeed, as of now the situation of the Belorussian language is extremely difficult," said Gennadiy Nikolayevich.

[Zenkovich] Apparently, there are reasons for that?

[Buravkin] This is the result of numerous exaggerations and distortions of the Leninist principles of nationality policy. The heyday of national culture in the first years of Soviet power, unparalleled in the life of the Belorussian people, was reduced to nonexistence by the almost total extermination of the intelligentsia in the period of Stalinist repressions. The Hitlerite onslaught took the lives of one-quarter of the populace of the republic, and undermined the economy entirely.

After the war, representatives of many nationalities came here to build a new life. Not all of them saw fit to study the language and culture of the people to whose aid they have come.

The cities were rebuilt, new plants were erected, and villages rose up. People also came back to life, ever more vigorously absorbing the language and culture of the newcomers which was gratefully associated with all that is the best and advanced.

The so-called period of "stagnation" did not only fail to arrest the narrowing of the "living space" of the Belorussian language, but, on the contrary, reinforced it. The unparalleled administrative itch of the officialdom played the main role in this.

In the process of their continuous development, art, language, and culture tend to become more complex and profound. However, this is not advantageous for the official, because in this case he also has to improve his knowledge. On his part, he wants an easy life, and he strives to simplify everything. So, an enticing thought occurs to him one day: "Why the two languages? One is enough." As a result, you cannot hear Belorussian spoken in the street.

Look at the shock of glasnost which was needed in order to awaken in the people the feeling of national identity, which has not yet been lost completely! This feeling is very weak in some people; the reluctance to accept what is new and not customary, instilled over many years, is abandoned tortuously, with difficulty. In other people, this feeling at times pours out on the brink of extremist phenomena. Be that as it may, this feeling is beginning to conquer the minds.

[Zenkovich] What processes are now under way in the sphere of language development?

[Buravkin] A program for expanding the study of the Belorussian language in schools and colleges, approved by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia and the government of the republic, has been adopted. Interest in the national culture is being placed on a solid organizational foundation. The press runs of books in the native language are growing.

[Zenkovich] What is the BSSR Gosteleradio doing to this end? I hope that such work is not reduced only to the programs "We Speak Belorussian."

[Buravkin] The radio club "Live Word" is very popular, in which the host, famous Belorussian journalist and writer V. Yurevich, talks about the peculiarities of the Belorussian language, shows the beauty of its sound, and discusses the celebrities of Belorussian literature. The TV journal "Native Word" also is a good forum for the Belorussian language. Problems of language culture are the subject of a lively discussion among scientists, writers, and linguists in the programs "Lyre."

I have no doubt whatsoever that one can truly love his Motherland only if he knows it. Now we are discovering for ourselves new, unknown facets of our past. The TV serial "Pages of History" relates them in detail, starting from their very origins. The cycle "Spadchyna" ("Heritage") introduces historical places of interest in the land of Belorussia. The recently broadcast program about Polotsk, one of the most ancient and bright gems of Slavic culture, has drawn many enthusiastic responses from the TV audience.

Issues of interethnic relations are raised in a cycle of programs prepared by the editorial staff of propaganda of the Belorussian radio. Besides, we produce TV and radio shows based on the works of writers of the peoples of the USSR. Songs and music of many peoples of our country are on the air daily.

[Zenkovich] About half a million Poles live in the territory of the republic; there are many Lithuanians, Tartars. Are there broadcasts for them?

[Buravkin] Since in a republic where Belorussians account for about 80 percent of the population their native language turned out to be sort of secondary, what can we say about other nationalities? The situation with regard to them is abnormal. We should change it as well. Quite recently, the broadcasting of programs in Polish began in Grodno Oblast, in which Poles account for a considerable share of the population. So far, the programs are on the air only once a week, but we will expand them in the future.

[Zenkovich] Naturally, the expansion of TV and radio broadcasts in Belorussian and Polish entails a reduction in Russian programming. How does the Russian-speaking population of the republic take to this?

[Buravkin] Unfortunately, not always with understanding, so we have to learn to respect the national feelings of each other. This, in turn, is not that simple: A higher level of culture of the people than the one we have is necessary for this.

After all, the Belorussians are not the only ones who need the renaissance of the Belorussian language. Are Bykov and Panchenko for the Belorussians only? Are Dostoyevskiy and Tolstoy only for the Russians, Balzac only for the French, and Shakespeare only for the English?

I would very much like for no one to have doubts: In bringing back to life what is our own, Belorussian, we by no means refute or take away something from other peoples; we only wish them that their full-blooded, happy life flourish....

RSFSR Supreme Soviet To Open 27 Jul

LD2507084989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0204 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Text] As we have already reported, another session of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation is to open on 27 July. Deputies will examine the tasks of local soviet and economic bodies of the Russian Federation for increasing the production and improving the quality of consumer goods in accordance with the guidelines of the congress of the USSR People's Deputies. The registration of RSFSR deputies arriving in Moscow will start in the Great Kremlin Palace today.

Moldavians Pay Tribute to Stalin Victims

LD0707063689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0204 GMT 07 Jul 89

[Text] Thousands of Moldavia's people turned out on 6 July in the square in front of Kishinev's railway station to pay tribute to the memory of the victims of the repression that occurred during the thirties, forties, and early fifties. The rally, which was organized by the executive committee of Kishinev's city soviet, was addressed by the republic's leaders, USSR people's deputies, people who suffered, and the relatives of those who died. Consistent work is being carried out in the republic to re-establish historical justice, the speakers remarked. Thousands of people have been posthumously rehabilitated. Work to locate possible mass burial grounds is under way; these will be officially designated as cemeteries. It has been decided to erect obelisks and monuments there. Work has begun to put together a book of remembrance for the victims of Stalinist arbitrary rule.

Ethnic Problems Require Renewal of Federation

PM0607151789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Valeriy Vyzhutovich commentary under the rubric "Publicist's Notes": "Warning of Danger"]

[Text] Sumgait, Tbilisi, the Fergana Valley, Novyy Uzen...Places which have been or are a source of concern to us. They are not becoming fewer in number and so our concern does not diminish. "As chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, I feel it my duty to warn you of the growing danger of worsening interethnic relations and the attendant consequences for society, for every family, and for every individual," M.S. Gorbachev said on Saturday [1 July] in his speech on central television.

A warning of danger. That is serious. Far more serious than imagined by political provocateurs calling for the redivision of the map of the Soviet Union or by those who respond to their appeals with dangerous, unthinking determination. It is serious not only because it is exacerbating the situation, impeding the renewal of our society, and sowing disharmony in relations between peoples and nations. It is also serious because it is painful. Human pain is a political factor that cannot be ignored, that we do not have the right to ignore. Hundreds of people of different nationalities killed and maimed. Several thousand Meskhetian Turks, persecuted and victimized, who have found refuge with Russian families near Smolensk, Kursk, and Belgorod but not peace of mind. Blighted lives, wounded hearts, eyes tired of weeping....

Is this not enough? Is this not enough to stop?

Yes, we have had our share of nationalities problems. Their present exacerbated state is our retribution for the complacency with which optimists of the Stalin-Brezhnev era vividly described the "steady flourishing and coming together of nations" and the universal, exultant "triumph of the friendship of the peoples." Yes, there are contradictions, there is resentment, there is infringement, and there is a thirst for independence.... Economic disorder, empty stores, declining morals—these are the sources of nourishment in the net of great interethnic tension. They should be eliminated first and foremost, rather than seeking solutions to the crisis in economic autarky and spiritual self-isolation.

The crisis state of our society orders us to combine our efforts rather than sever ties between people. Nationalities problems and socioeconomic problems are so closely interwoven and condition each other to such an extent that they should only be resolved together. The solution to interethnic tension should be sought not least in improving the economy, rectifying the deformations of socialism, and restoring eternal moral values and concepts, such as reason, goodness, and charity, to social practice.

Yes, the country's federative structure needs improvement. Amendments must be made to the constitution, which will ensure a return to the Leninist ideas of federalism. Integrating possibilities and interests is, of course, preferable to unconditional subordination to the center, but the federation must be renewed without upsetting the integrity of our union. We live in one home, where one nation cannot be happy at the expense of another's happiness. Destroying what we have created in the search for something better is truly painful. If we now begin to unearth ancient maps, shake off the dust of ages, and contrast and compare all this with current realities, we really could go too far. So far, so dangerously far for the lives of many peoples and nations and for our common destiny that it might be better to refrain from such revisions with wise dignity.

When pondering the problem of harmonizing interethnic relations and drawing up projects to renew the federation, we cannot fail to consider historical realities which have evolved over the centuries. We cannot ignore the experience of life of millions of people and their forefathers and contemporaries. It is a tight knot and if we start to hack at it blood will flow.... Do we really need this? Particularly now, when the country is living through difficult days—possibly the most difficult in the last 4 years.

Tolerance, restraint, and common sense.... These are three important features which determine man's behavior in civilized society and are now becoming particularly valuable. We have been warned of the danger. It is no reason to panic but also does not dispose us to complacency. What should we do?

We should stay human.

Moscow Party Committee Views Food Shortages

LD2407210789 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] The bureau of the city party committee at its meeting in Moscow has reprimanded the chiefs of the three main departments of the city council for serious shortcomings in food supplies in Moscow. There has been a shortage of essential commodities and sporadic supply of bread, confectionaries, meat, and milk products. Moscow's party chief, Lev Zaykov, in a speech to the meeting said the issue of food supply in Moscow had become a political one and that urgent measures were needed to reverse the situation for the better.

Chebrikov, Others Discuss Law, Order

LD2407175889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] The collegium held an expanded session in the USSR Prosecutor's Office under the chairmanship of USSR Prosecutor General Sukharev, in which prosecutors from republics, krays and oblasts, and military and transport prosecutors took part. The issue of the state of lawfulness and law and order in the country were examined. There was discussion of tasks arising from the decisions of the USSR People's Deputies Congress. A central role in the work of the collegium was allocated to questions of the campaign against crime, the growth of which is worrying the public and destabilizing the situation in the country. Those assembled were unanimous in their opinions that the state of affairs demands cardinal perestroyka of the work of all law enforcement organs to prevent disclosure of criminal investigations and adopt urgent and decisive measures to stop antisocial phenomena, especially serious ones perpetrated by organized groups of criminals. Stress was laid on the increase in mercenary crime and its penetration of the cooperative and state sectors.

The collegium noted that there is a need to stop more energetically corruption, bribe taking, overspending and abuses, stifle the activities those involved in intrigues in cooperatives, and to make racketeers face severe responsibility. There is a need to raise to a qualitatively new level the work of the Prosecutor's Office on the ecological front, and to pay a great deal of attention to strengthening state and labor discipline.

Special anxiety emerged during discussion of problems of relations between the nationalities, which are taking on an extremely acute and illegal character in several areas. The collegium approved an extensive program for action on the issue under discussion.

Taking part in the work of the session were Comrade Chebrikov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and senior workers at the Central Committee, the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU, and of the country's Supreme Soviet, as well as of the USSR Council of Ministers and also leaders of all-union law enforcement organs, scientists and lawyers and representatives of the mass media.

Shevardnadze Views Restructuring in Foreign Policy

LD2407165989 Moscow TASS in English
1640 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 24 TASS—The task of the Foreign Ministry of the USSR is to create external conditions favouring internal restructuring to a maximum extent, is the opinion of Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. In an interview published in a special issue of the newspaper "GOVERNMENT HERALD" he said that the renovation processes at work in the USSR "make our partners in international dialogue more receptive to the new thinking, to the Soviet foreign policy initiatives".

The assertion of such principles as primacy of law, correspondence of national laws to those of international law, creation of a rule-of-law state, integration in the world economic system—is a process which is in the interests of the people and restructuring, the Soviet foreign minister said.

Referring to the relations between the Soviet Foreign Ministry and the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Shevardnadze said that the Soviet Foreign Ministry aims at the closest possible cooperation with all the committees and commissions and individual deputies of the Supreme Soviet. "Operating within the framework of the constitutionally enshrined mechanism, we shall be able to substantially broaden the base for shaping the Soviet foreign policy, make it answerable to the people, strengthen the foreign policy base of restructuring and reduce the errors and miscalculations to a minimum."

Shevardnadze stressed the need not to allow a gap to develop between the declared values and ideals inside and outside the country. Among other things, one cannot, Shevardnadze says, in working for an international dialogue, renounce such a dialogue in the internal life, observe the norms of international law and flout national laws. "I would not be sincere if I said that everything is impeccable with us in this respect," the foreign minister said. But the restructuring is overcoming—has already overcome—many such "gaps" and the more this is so, the more irreversible will be the progress toward the desired harmony.

KGB Chairman on Changes in State Security Role

LD2407165689 Moscow TASS in English
1630 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 24 TASS—"Groundwork has been laid for extensive changes in the work of the state security bodies, a process of rethinking their place and role in the political system and the mechanism of the socialist rule-of-law state is under way. Reflecting a renovation of Soviet society, the process is one of adjusting the functions of the KGB bodies," chairman of the Committee on State Security (KGB) of the USSR Vladimir Kryuchkov said in an interview with a "GOVERNMENT HERALD" correspondent. The interview is published in a special issue of the "HERALD" which lists the members of the new Soviet government.

The chief thrust of all our efforts is concentrated on implementing the principles of democracy and openness and a creative renovation of all the forms of operational activities, the committee chairman went on to say. "I would wish to especially stress the need for a consistent observance of socialist legality," he said. "We actively participate in working out the control mechanisms that would guarantee the enforcement of legality in the activities of state security bodies. It is very important to work out and promulgate without delay a law on state security and the provision (or law) on the Committee of State Security of the USSR."

The assertion of the principle of new political thinking in international relations has a direct bearing on the Committee on State Security, Kryuchkov said. "We proceed from the new character of international relations. Which means being absolutely precise in defining the tasks of the state security bodies as regards the foreign policy activity of the Soviet state and contributing by our work to implementing the foreign policy course of the state," Kryuchkov says. "The forms and methods of the work of the KGB bodies and the functioning of the entire system ensuring state security must be organised with account for the new international situation, contribute to setting in place a peaceful constructive dialogue between countries and strengthen the positions of the Soviet state in the struggle for peace. The obtaining of objective information, the accurate knowledge of the state of affairs in the world and of the plans and aspirations of the leading western countries vis-a-vis the Soviet Union, and gaining information permitting the adoption of optimum solutions—is the duty of the state security bodies."

Kryuchkov also notes in his interview that the KGB bodies favor the establishment of links and contacts with the special services of the capitalist and developing countries in the interests of tackling such common problems as terrorism, drug traffic, contraband and other tasks of defending the honour, dignity and rights of man.

Abalkin Discusses Economic Reform, Education

LD2407190989 Moscow TASS in English 1821 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 24 TASS—The State Commission on Economic Reform of the USSR Council of Ministers should group the country's best scholars and blend theory and practice, said Leonid Abalkin, deputy prime minister and head of the commission.

"It is essential to work out clear-cut positions and major decisions aimed at elaborating and implementing the economic reform strategy," he said in an interview with the GOVERNMENT HERALD newspaper. Without a clear concept it is hard to promptly coordinate measures and synchronise the restructuring of planning, the financial and credit mechanism, wholesale trade and pricing. The acuteness of the current situation will also require meeting a host of current necessities. There is no time to be wasted which makes it urgent to rapidly react to economic processes. One of the more complex problems faced by the commission is to coordinate the elaboration of strategic guidelines at the modern stage of reform with the day-to-day solution of a great number of issues.

Abalkin told the newspaper that the majority of managers were not well versed in economic matters, especially the latest ones. Therefore the commission will deal with training managerial personnel and raising their skills.

Assessing recommendations of the economic science is the function of statesmen and politicians. In this context, Abalkin stressed the need to more clearly delimit the functions of the state guidance of the economy and economic management. "The state guidance, which stands above regional, local and sectoral interests, can best express the common requirements for the economic development and get rid of petty selfish interests."

Voronin on Economy, Supreme Soviet Committees

LD2407202989 Moscow TASS in English 1830 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 24 TASS—"I visualise immense possibilities for giving new content and lending the necessary dynamism to the entire work of managing the country's economy in maintaining a permanent living contact with the committees and commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet"—is how Lev Voronin, who was recently appointed the first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, defined one of conditions for a success of his work.

In an interview, published in a special issue of GOVERNMENT HERALD which introduces the new composition of the Soviet Government, he explained that the institution of a new post, that of first deputy head of the Soviet Government for general matters, had been prompted by the need for comprehensive and prompt solutions to current issues that are within the jurisdiction of the Council of Ministers.

One of measures which Voronin regards as necessary is "to establish an efficient system of day-to-day information which makes it possible to know the real state of affairs in the economy."

"Secondly, it is essential to ensure the maintenance of state reserves, including those of production capacities, at a proper level."

Voronin also considers it important to ensure the scientific validity of decisions being taken. Several versions of solutions should be tried out in each specific situation, he maintains.

"And finally, it is very important to organise an effective control over the implementation of government decisions," Voronin emphasised.

The new deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers specially pointed out the need to rely predominantly on economic management methods and on legal mechanism.

Doguzhiyev on Need for Commission on Emergencies

LD2407202189 Moscow TASS in English 1726 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 24 TASS—The creation of a state commission of the USSR Council of Ministers on emergencies is an inevitable, although belated, outgrowth of the analysis of the causes behind a series of industrial and ecological catastrophes, which hit the USSR in the past few years, and efforts to clean up the aftermath, Vitaly Doguzhiyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, recently elected to head this commission, told the GOVERNMENT HERALD newspaper. The interview is carried by the newspaper's special issue, representing the new make-up of the Soviet Government.

"What is needed is a nationwide system to make people safe from industrial disasters, accidents and natural calamities, which will involve advanced preparation for actions in emergencies, smooth coordination and teamwork of special services," Doguzhiyev said. According to him, 790 major accidents took place in industry last year alone. Every year there are nearly a million cases of group traumatism, while approximately 250,000-260,000 people die in accidents, poisoning and traumas.

Adamov on Yeltsin Congress Remarks

LD0907160589 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 8 Jul 89

["Moscow Mailbag" program with Joe Adamov]

[Excerpt] [Announcer] The first question of today's program comes from Robin Ball, Caterham, Surrey, Great Britain: The media here is giving the impression that Boris Yeltsin at the recent congress said that President Gorbachev is the most dictatorial leader of this country. He could hardly have said it without risking his own personal welfare.

[Adamov] Well, firstly, did he say what your press quoted him as saying? That's the first thing. Then, I assure you, had he said what you quote nothing would have happened anyway. But let me tell you that worse things have been said at the congress and no one's welfare is any the worse. But what actually did Boris

Yeltsin say at the congress? I heard him speak and I have the shorthand account of the congress. He said: On the background of a worsening economic situation and growing ethnic unrest, we can see an increase in the influence and power of the head of government. This could lead to a desire to solve our most complicated problems by resorting to force. Without noticing it, we may fall victim to a new authoritarian regime, a new dictatorship. So, you see, what he said was a supposition, a warning, and, incidentally, Gorbachev is not the kind of man to become what he set out to fight and destroy—a dictorial regime, an authoritarian regime. It was Gorbachev himself who introduced glasnost, that is freedom of speech. [passage omitted]

Magazine To Publish Formerly 'Top Secret' Material

[illegible] Moscow TASS in English
2109 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 11 TASS—Yulian Semenov, a Soviet master detective story teller, announced the launching of a new monthly bulletin with a bizarre name "Top Secret" at a press conference here today.

Semenov will be editor-in-chief of the magazine, which is a new non-governmental international monthly supplement to "Detective and Politics" published by the Moscow office of the International Association of Crime Writers.

The bulletin aims to shed light on blank pages in Soviet, Russian and foreign history, and publish previously top secret materials which shall be known to the general public.

The bulletin's editorial board includes lawyers, scientists, artists and writers from various countries, such as Vyacheslav Pankin, head of the Soviet Criminal Investigation Department, U.S. Judge Dana Henry, Soviet economist Tatyana Koryagina, Soviet writers Aleksander Belyayev, Arkadiy Vainer and Olzhas Suleymenov, Mike Anderle from Austria, Karl Arne Blom of Sweden and Soviet film producer Aloiz Brench.

Initially, 100,000 copies of the bulletin, each 24 pages thick, will be published. The circulation will then be increased.

Talks are currently under way with West Germany to publish the bulletin in German, Yulian Semenov said.

Book of Gorbachev Speeches Launched in Luxembourg

LD1107194989 Moscow TASS in English
1814 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Luxembourg July 11 TASS—A new book, "Mikhail Gorbachev. The Words Which Have Set the World in Motion", put out by the Luxembourg-West German "Horizons" publishers, has been launched at the USSR's embassy in Luxembourg.

The book contains the most important excerpts from Mikhail Gorbachev's articles and speeches in 1985-1989, including the 19th all-union party conference, the 27th CPSU Congress and the 43rd General Assembly Session.

A preface to the collection says that they illustrate a new thinking which is a daring attempt to open for the world new vistas on the threshold of the third millennium. This is an invitation for a broad dialogue on mankind's future.

Speaking to representatives of the Luxembourg and Common Market public and political circles, Peter Spiegel, one of the "Horizons" directors, said that the processes, which are under way in the Soviet Union, the new approach based on universal values, are giving rise to profound interest in Western Europe. The idea of an all-European home can evoke the broadest response in Luxembourg, which is situated in the very heart of the continent, he said.

We favour perestroyka not only in the USSR, but also all over the world, he said. We favour such perestroyka which will make it possible to overcome ideological barriers and bring all peoples of the world together, he stressed.

Shevardnadze Says Need for Change in Foreign Ministry

LD0707095989 Moscow World Service in English
1200 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] The Soviet foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze says Soviet foreign policy is being placed (?under general) control from the legislative bodies. He said in an interview that following the recent Congress of People's Deputies there would be a need for changes in the ministry he heads, since it was going to work in new conditions. (?The congressmen) [words indistinct] set out key directions of foreign policy, while the standing parliament, Supreme Soviet, will conduct hearings on international agreements requiring ratification. Groups of specially appointed deputies, Mr Shevardnadze said, would supervise major talks of Soviet diplomats, and Foreign Ministry officials would regularly report to the legislators on talks, especially on disarmament talks.

Baklanov Visits Defense Industry Plant

LD0707230789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1800 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] On 7 July, [Oleg] Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, visited the Moscow oblast production association Krasnogorskiy Zavod of the USSR Ministry of Defense Industry. This enterprise produces amateur photographic equipment and various optical instruments. Comrade Baklanov examined the state of affairs with regard to increasing the production of consumer goods.

He talked with workers about how to more quickly increase the efficient production of these goods. He visited the plant's housing projects and establishments belonging to the social and consumer-service spheres. There was also a meeting with the enterprise aktiv.

Uzbek Chemical Works Closure Ordered

LD0707164689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] Uzbekistan's State Committee for Nature Protection has decided to close the Novokokandskiy chemical works. The enterprise has been allowed to process remaining raw material during the next month, after which it will be closed forever. The location of this works over the largest deposit of fresh underground water in the Fergana Valley has been acknowledged as a most grievious mistake that has cost R120 million. The republic's procuracy will now get down to dealing with the guilty parties.

Radioactive Waste Storage Issue Discussed

18220156 Moscow TRUD in Russian 4 Jul 89 p 4

[Article by V. Dolgodvorov, TRUD correspondent, city of Semenov, Gorkovskiy Oblast: "A Trip to a Restricted Area"]

[Text] **"And you know that one of the boys crawled through the fence, picked berries at the Semenov radioactive waste storage site, and died within a year!"**

"Is it true that clothing that came from Chernobyl was burned at the site and that the ashes were scattered over the entire district?"

"Wild strawberries there are big, like garden-grown strawberries, and mushrooms are growing almost as big as a hat! In a word—radiation!.."

These rumors have been floating around for a long time not only in the Semenovskiy Rayon, where there is a storage site for slightly radioactive wastes of the Gorkiy special combine "Radon," but throughout the oblast. And in order to check them out, I went... into the restricted area, with A. Yepishin, chief doctor at the public health epidemiological station (he is the chairman of the oblast commission for radiometric monitoring), who took along a special radiometer.

Along the way, A. Yepishin explains: The storage site was built almost 3 decades ago, and its condition does not represent any kind of danger, which was recently confirmed by a competent public commission from Gorkiy. The facility is erected on a multi-meter layer of clay, which does not permit water to pass through, and the surface water flow is collected in a special closed drainage system. Before delivery for burial, the wastes (and these are mainly radioactive sources used in X-ray equipment and gamma defectoscopes—instruments for checking welded seams) are encased in cement in special metal containers, which guarantees their complete safety...

But is this in fact the case?

Yellow warning signs flashed 17 kilometers outside Semenov: "Restricted area. Picking mushrooms and berries and putting cattle to pasture is forbidden." But our instruments were calm. We pass the usual road barrier, from which a metal screen barrier extends in both directions. The paved road runs into the forest, which does not show any signs of gigantic vegetation.

The "contamination" area begins beyond the entrance to the facility.

We were joined in Semenov by workers from the municipal SES [public health epidemiological station] with their instruments and by members of a special commission of the rayon soviet who were armed with their own measuring equipment, and who were given access here for the first time. They inspect every meter of the territory in a fault-finding way, and they lower their sensors into every nook and cranny... The soil, water, and reinforced concrete structures are checked for radioactivity... But even the most ardent enemies of the storage site—N. Krasnov, chairman of the kolkhoz [collective farm] "Vernyy Put," whose land is adjacent to the restricted area, and V. Veretekhin, deputy chairman of the inter-rayon committee on the preservation of nature, it was apparent, had nothing to find fault with.

"While at the beginning wastes were buried underground, now they are stored on the surface. It is safer: The metal is less prone to corrosion," explained Ye. Klementev, deputy director of the special combine "Radon." "Moreover, its condition can be checked at any time."

The technology was changed after the grave incident in 1977 when subsoil water unexpectedly began to seep into one of the containers that was already half-filled with wastes: As was thought, the welded seams gave out. A whole year passed before they created a special installation, purified the water...

The main body of the facility has concrete cases that enclose the containers with wastes. At our request, they raised one of the heavy reinforced concrete slabs, and afterwards, a half-ton metal vat that was encased in concrete. This time my instrument gave a sad squeak, and the arrows of others moved to the right: 200 microroentgens per hour. When the vat and the slab are returned to their places, the instruments become quiet.

"And where is the clothing from Chernobyl?" asks the kolkhoz chairman.

Foreman V. Grigoryev raises another slab; under it there is a pile of paper bags. They get one that we select. It contains a soldier's uniform and a knapsack. The radioactivity is 20 microroentgens.

"As you see," says A. Yepishin, "no one has burned the clothes."

"Then why is all of this kept secret from the people?" wonders V. Veretekhin.

When the Semenov storage site was being built in Russia at the beginning of the 1960's, along with another 16 sites, the construction was covered with a curtain of secrecy: Even the rayon authorities were told that this would be a normal military depot. But afterwards, when bright signs appeared at the the 17-kilometer point warning about radioactive sectors, the facility was listed as a "post-office box," and it appeared as a tourist center on rayon maps. The muzhiks grumbled: Five villages near each other, sources of little rivers, there will be no end of trouble with this kind of a "tourist center"... But nobody paid any attention to the grumblers.

Times change. And despite the arguments of the type "only professionals can comprehend this, and they have to make the decisions" (which, incidentally, A. Yepishin tried to do at first), the public got access to the facility. Many of the former doubts the activists had were shattered. But, unfortunately, new ones appeared.

However, let us return to the little boy: Did he exist? Yes, really, he died in Semenov from cancer, but his death was in no way connected with his purported presence at the storage site—there is an official medical finding in this regard. But, on the other hand, despite the warning signs, anyone can go right up to the storage site: The screen is not much of an insurmountable barrier. And there is only one watchman—a resident of a nearby village—who is usually "at the gate".

As it turned out, the special combine cannot even use the services of non-departmental security: There are no means for this. Is the risk justified?

The reliability of the structures erected at one time by the local RSU [repair and construction administration] in record time also did not make an impression. The entire Semenovskiy Rayon knows how cement and other building materials were carried from the facility. A doubt automatically arises about the strength of the "slabs."

The fact is that for the purpose of reducing expenditures, a new type of technology was introduced: Radioactive elements are no longer encased in cement, but they are poured directly from containers into a metallic "bulb." Perhaps, from the standpoint of professionals, everything here is as it should be, but I, a dilettante, have a doubt: The "bulb" is welded. And what happens? At the bottom where the decay of radioactive elements occurs, the temperature is maintained in the range of 25-30 degrees, and in the winter in the neck—up to 25 degrees below zero. This means that condensation inevitably occurs and, consequently, an aggressive interior that the welded seams, I think, might not be able to withstand at some point. Neither A. Yepishin, nor Ye. Klementev, alas, were able to dispel my doubts.

This economy is compulsory, because the special combine "Radon" is subordinate to... the oblast administration of the municipal economy, which itself does not have enough resources. The enterprises do not pay anything for the storage of the radioactive wastes, which results in corresponding salary levels of service personnel and the level of maintenance of the facility. It is the same with security: Those are hired here who were discharged from the kolkhoz for various kinds of infractions, and there are no others.

Now the managers of the combine, for example, cannot resolve this problem in any way: where to get 100 tons of bitumen in order to put filled containers in dead storage? No funds or limits were allowed for this!

Meanwhile, the "nonprofessionals" and the "dilettantes"—residents of Semenovskiy Rayon—are demanding restrictions on the volume of waste burial. They are trying to get the right, at any time there is a danger signal, as was the case with rumors of the burning of the clothes from Chernobyl, to conduct an inspection at the facility. The "dilettantes" are also demanding that trucks carrying radioactive wastes not be allowed to park for hours next to restaurants and stores, which even further aggravates an uneasy situation and stirs up the population. They also want to get competent and well-reasoned answers to questions of this kind: Can insects and birds transmit radiation? Is there a full guarantee of the purity of subsoil water?

And it is not difficult to understand them: People constantly live under the stress of possible radioactivity that threatens their health.

Krasnoyarsk Rejects Nuclear Waste Storage

18220159 Moscow TRUD in Russian 11 Jul 89 p 2

[Article by TRUD correspondent L. Shabalin: "Secret Site"]

[Text] The citizens of Krasnoyarsk were perhaps the first in our country to encounter the problem of an essentially world scope: The development of power generation in recent years has been closely associated with nuclear power stations. This means that we cannot do without radioactive waste burial. Such storage sites already exist in our country. One of them is next to Krasnoyarsk with its 1-million population. Recently, the Siberians found this out: Secret site No 27 is nothing else but an enterprise for the underground storage of radioactive wastes generated by nuclear power stations in the CEMA countries which is under construction....

Why is a radioactive vault being set up in secret from the people right here, close to the city, and on the bank of a river as mighty as the Yenisey into the bargain? Whose idea was it? Is this installation that necessary for the national economy? What is this complex about?

The flow of its operations is outwardly quite simple. Radioactive wastes are delivered to a special plant. After processing, they are pumped in liquid state into the pipes in a tunnel under the Yenisey (?!); then they are delivered to the site, and are lowered from there to clay layers at a depth of 700 meters. The 15-year-old design states that the danger of an accident amounts to 10^{-7}. This may calm someone. However, does not the danger exist, at least theoretically?

At this point, we should say that the selection and examination of site No 27 were carried out by a state commission headed by N. Tatarchuk, at the time chairman of the kray ispolkom [executive committee], on the basis of the resolution of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers dated 4 March 1975. In turn, the permit for underground burial from the USSR Minvodkhoz [Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources] was backdated on 21 March 1984, when construction of the installation was in full swing.

Letters flew to Moscow from the inhabitants of the kray, social organizations, and soviet organs. USSR People's Deputies from Krasnoyarsk Kray addressed deputy inquiries to ministers, V. Yakutis at the congress, V. Astafyev and R. Solntsev through the press: How expedient and safe is it to build this installations near Krasnoyarsk? The responses by heads of ministries were evasive and confused, with postscripts of the kind "we will sort it out and let you know," with appeals and wishes to "go on fighting for the ecology of your kray," with overt hints not to wash the dirty linens in public at this point, because "rumors may excite the people and spawn fabrications which are not in line with reality..."

In his turn, Minister of Medium Machine Building Comrade Ryabev in a telegram addressed to Astafyev and Solntsev recommended that they... "visit a mining-chemical combine, inspect a storage facility for spent fuel elements from Soviet nuclear power stations, and familiarize themselves with all materials on safety..." However, the people's deputies, the ispolkom of the kray soviet, and the people needed detailed information prepared by a special commission rather than pro forma responses.

Here is a curious detail: The "headquarters" of sorts of informal organization members fighting against the construction of the burial site is headed by Chairman of the Ispolkom of the Kray Soviet V. Sergiyenko. This is what he says:

"Personally, I found out about this site in the second half of last year, when I became chairman. I began to sort it out; on two occasions, I approached the minister of medium machine building for explanations concerning the selection of technological and design solutions and the site itself. First, he dragged his feet, and later he responded as follows: Since there are questions, we are going to curtail it, because also...construction is proceeding slowly.

"The Academy of Sciences responded to our request to send their own specialists rather than those from the ministry. So, they came to Krasnoyarsk, and tried to come up with the answers for the public, especially regarding the safety of storage. The people learned that the analogs of it exist both in our country and abroad, and underground storage facilities are used for chemical waste as well, that supposedly this is one of the safest ways of preserving them for centuries."

Sergiyenko went on to say: "Nonetheless, the concern of the people is justified. The pitch of passions is such that stopping construction and abandoning this mode of burial is the most radical solution to the problem under these particular circumstances, because there are technologies for the so-called solidification of radioactive wastes.

"Besides, due to the changed situation in nuclear power generation, the volume of processing these elements will be reduced considerably, and we can do without the Krasnoyarsk complex. In addition, we need to inform the populace yet again in detail about this project, about existing storage sites in other localities of the country in order not to create turmoil. We should perfect even safer technologies for storage or those altogether new in principle. The position of kray soviets is unambiguous: We are against this storage technology. In their turn, the ministries should take into account the opinion of the people and be guided by it...."

The kray ispolkom chairman is right both because the situation in the world power generation has changed and because nobody is guaranteed from various circumstances which are not even envisaged in the design. Say, Doctor of Geological and Mineralogical Sciences Professor V. Kuzebnyy and eight more candidates of sciences maintain that the design of the radioactive storage site did not undergo a serious geological and hydrological examination. The point is, they say in their letter, that the valley of the Yenisey, under which radioactive wastes are supposed to be injected in liquid form, coincides with the zone of the largest transcontinental fault on the edge of the Siberian and West Siberian plates. Earthquakes can be realistically expected in the fault zone, of which even the minor ones can damage the pipeline.

However, as of now there is one point which should offer a degree of solace to the citizens of Krasnoyarsk. As Minister of Medium Machine Building Comrade Ryabev reports, the need for the element-processing plant and the waste storage grounds will appear no sooner than 2000, that is, there is a respite until the beginning of the next millennium.

"This is good, but the complex needs to be stopped for good. Doing this is not at all going to be easy," says B. Astafyev.

Despite the authors saying that the installation can be put out of commission only by "saboteurs, a nuclear strike, a plane crash, or a catastrophic landslide...", the degree of probability of a tragedy may become positive due to our negligence and irresponsibility. After all, at issue is one of the greatest rivers of the world, a city of one million, the health of people, and the living rather than the dead radioactive waste.

Zaykov's Closing Speech at Moscow Gorkom Plenum

PM0707102589 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jun 89 p 7

["Concluding Speech by L.N. Zaykov," member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom (City Committee), delivered at 21 June plenum of Moscow CPSU Gorkom; carried under the general heading: "Promoting Perestroyka Relying on Political Leadership Methods. Moscow CPSU Gorkom Plenum"]

[Text] Comrades!

There has been a very detailed and useful discussion of the question submitted at today's plenum of the role of Moscow's city party organization under present-day conditions.

We prepared for a long time for this plenum, and repeatedly discussed with Moscow CPSU Gorkom Bureau members and secretaries and members of gorkom commissions how best to formulate its agenda and fill it with content. We wanted a frank discussion. And I do not think we were mistaken.

We needed such a frank exchange of opinions. We needed members of the party gorkom to openly state their views on urgent problems. Unfortunately, it is true that not everyone was able to speak or share what they thought.

I support the proposal voiced today to regularly hold plenums with similar agendas in order to attentively analyze how and what is being done at various stages, what mistakes are being made, and how we should organize our political work. We undoubtedly need such plenums and it seems to me that we had one today.

It is another matter, of course, that each of us is entitled to agree or disagree with the speeches or to take offense at the criticism. But, I think, the aim has been achieved. It is important for there to be a reaction to the criticism. It is clear that it is not always very pleasant to be criticized. But if people react to criticism, it means they are capable of doing further work. As soon as they stop noticing criticism, they stop making progress.

I think that the gorkom leadership now has plenty of work to do; the criticism of the shortcomings of its bureau and secretariat was correct, as was, above all, the criticism of my shortcomings as party gorkom first secretary.

Although I must say that a great deal has undoubtedly been done. We are working collectively together with party raykoms [rayon committees] and primary organizations. We are constantly helped by the Central Committee and the government. Of course, many of the decisions we have made are aimed at the future and cannot remedy the state of affairs immediately. But we have done some solid groundwork.

Now, of course, the main thing is to implement political reform. But I am convinced that we should not under any circumstances divorce it from the implementation of economic transformations. These processes must be interlinked, the speakers rightly noted.

With regard to the report made here today—and it too has been criticized—I would say that it too did not emerge straightaway, we worked on it for a long time and thought about what shape it should take to ensure that there was an extensive discussion of problems that was not inhibited by a narrow framework. We needed a broad discussion, but, at the same time, a discussion from clear positions.

Of course, a plenum with such an agenda was a new and unusual thing in itself. We must amass experience in our approaches to these issues and examine them more critically. And above all from the standpoint of making demands on everyone for the tasks assigned to them.

I remember that it was once said at a plenum that party gorkom members are like star turns at sessions. I think this cannot be said of today's plenum. This time almost all gorkom members worked on the preparations for it in commissions which have started operating. This form of studying problems before discussing them has proved its worth, even though we as yet have little experience of this.

I would like to thank all comrades who took part in preparing for and speaking at the plenum.

It is now very important for the party gorkom, party raykoms, primary party organizations and Moscow Gorkom secretaries to translate into practical action, take on board, and take account of all the useful points provided by our discussion.

Let us consider that we are not ending but just starting our big and serious discussion; the main thing is to work to ensure that the prestige of the capital's party organization is enhanced.

Private Investigative Service Formed

18001320 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 1 Jul 89 p 2

[Article by S. Polevoy: "Private Detective Hot on the Trail"]

[Text] **Several days ago in Leningrad the first Soviet private investigative agency, Aleks, announced the beginning of its operation.**

"Who is included in it?" we asked one of the founders of Aleks, V. Kosyakov.

"Many of us have worked in the past in organs of the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], procurators' offices, and KGB. These include both youth and people of pension age."

"For whom do you work?"

"For anyone who comes to us for help. Naturally, the person must not have criminal intentions belong to the world of crime. In our activity we shall rely primarily on the law."

"What is your goal?"

"To provide for law and order. Moreover, our existence will solve certain social problems. There are people who for many reasons have had to leave the state investigative service. Frequently they are high-ranking professionals. Working for us is also a solution for them."

"How can you guarantee that you will employ only upright people?"

"Uprightness and professionalism—these are two main criteria for selection for Aleks."

"In what areas do you prefer to work?"

"Legal consulting, protection of citizens and property, work with minors upon requests from their parents, searching for missing persons, investigation of citizens for law suits and complaints, determination of the validity of securities and business papers. We also guarantee protection of our clients from, say, racketeers. Moreover, we are in a position to protect and safeguard valuable witnesses for, say, the courts."

"Who will supervise your activity?"

"Like any Soviet organization we shall be under the supervision of the procurator's office."

"How high are the prices for your services?"

"It is difficult for me to answer that question specifically. There are established instructions for payment for legal services. If we perform work not included in these instructions, the prices will be agreed upon. I can say simply that we do not intend to capitalize on human sorrow."

"Let us assume that you were to come upon a dangerous crime...."

"In that case we would turn the information about it over to the internal affairs agencies...."

"What is your legal status?"

"The same as that of ordinary Soviet citizens. Our workers are not on a par with the police. But, after all, any citizen of our country is obligated to fight against criminal actions to the best of his ability."

"And yet the risk of your becoming involved in crime is immeasurably greater?"

"That is the specific nature of our trade. The guarantee of the safety of our workers, if you will, is their high professional level. Each one knows what he is doing...."

TRUD on ILO Discussion on Indigineous People

18001310 Moscow TRUD in Russian 29 Jun 89 p 5

[Article by V. Boykov, TRUD special correspondent, Geneva, under the rubric "Pulse of the Planet": "In the Interests of 300 Million People; At the 76th Session of the ILO Conference"]

[Text] **It has already become a tradition: Annually the general conferences of the International Labor Organization [ILO] develop new conventions or bring active conventions into accord with current requirements whose purpose is the protection of the interests of one or another group of workers.**

The current 76th session of the general conference now taking place in Geneva is also no exception. On 27 June it approved a revised text of the 107th convention, which speaks to the fate of 300 million persons who number among indigenous peoples and those who lead a tribal way of life. What gave rise to such a revision and what objectives are being pursued in this?

The 107th convention was adopted in 1957. Its main feature was the integration and assimilation of the indigenous and other populations living a tribal way of life. It became clear in time: The process of breaking the barriers of segregation leads to a disappearance of ethnic languages, culture, and consequently entire peoples. The new text of the convention calls for the prevention of such a negative outcome. It recognizes the right of such peoples to preserve and develop their originality, traditions, and customs.

Representatives of indigenous people and those leading a tribal way of life who participated in discussions on this question—and they came to Geneva from all parts of the globe—cited a large number of examples in their speeches of scandalous discrimination and infringement of their ethnic national rights. Referring to such just complaints, the revised text of the 107th convention emphasizes: These people must have the very same opportunities in the sphere of education, social support, and other spheres as does the rest of the population of those states in which they live.

The birth of the revised convention was preceded by tremendous work. The document that was adopted by the general conference was discussed for a period of 2 years. Representatives of governments, workers, and patrons from 150 countries who participated in this process put forth hundreds of amendments and refinements. One of the stumbling blocks was the question about how to designate the main characters of the convention—a population or a people? The first designation figured in the old interpretation. But in our day many considered it discriminatory. Why? In the context of international law, "peoples" have, in particular, the right to self-determination, but a "population" does not.

A compromise formulation was found in which the term "peoples" figures with a stipulation whose essence is formulated this way: The use of the term "peoples" is not associated in any way with the right to self-determination as defined in international law.

Even greater difficulty was caused by a statement in the new text of the convention concerning the recognition that these peoples have a right to the land they traditionally occupy. Representatives of many governments declared that this contradicted their national legislation. Among these was the Soviet delegate who explained: According to the USSR Constitution, the exclusive right to the ownership of land and its resources belongs to the state.

The compromise formulations that were found for one or another problem, of course, did not satisfy everyone by far. But without them there would not have been a revised convention which protects the interests of indigenous peoples to a greater degree than its antecedent convention. The balance of different interests and positions adhered to in this document is also called on to expand the circle of countries that will be able to ratify it.

What can the revised 107th convention give to the indigenous peoples of our country? In the opinion of the Soviet delegates who participated in its development, the ratification and strict adherence to the provisions of this document could promote the suspension of the assimilation process, which, alas, is happening not only "to them," but to us as well. We should recall the speech devoted to this problem at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies by Ye.A. Gayer, the representative of indigenous peoples of the Far East. The convention is oriented on an improvement in the environment in which the indigenous peoples live, on the improvement of living and working conditions, on the preservation of language and culture, and on the expansion of rights.

The course of voting at the plenary meeting showed: The revised 107th convention found wide support. 328 votes were cast for its adoption. Only one representative was against it, and 49 abstained. It is now a matter of ratification of this document by the ILO countries.

Kapto Opens 'Roundtable' on Nationalities

18001324 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 6 Jul 89 p 2

[Article by V. Potapov: "Before Its Second Wind"]

[Text] Head of the Ideological Department of the CPSU Central Committee Aleksandr Semenovich Kapto opened a "roundtable" on the topic "Sociopolitical Problems of Interethnic Relations in the USSR: Theory and Practice" sponsored by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

He noted that the CPSU Central Committee views this 'roundtable' as an important element in preparing for the Central Committee plenum on interethnic relations in the USSR. Its goal is to conduct a fruitful search in the further theoretical development of the problems of nationality policy of the party and to comprehensively discuss the ideas advanced by M.S. Gorbachev in his statement on Central TV on 1 July.

The aggravation of interethnic relations and the consequences it entails for society, for every family, for every person, concern all Soviet people at present. A complex situation has emerged. This was reflected by the proceedings of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. At the same time, the congress showed in a particularly convincing manner that our socialist future is inconceivable in the absence of consolidation and unity of all Soviet peoples.

If we approach restructuring with the measure of historic responsibility which a genuine revolution deserves, the primary significance of a resolute affirmation and creative development of the Leninist norms and principles of nationality policy for this revolution becomes apparent.

At present, specialists on nationality issues should immediately solve at least three problems. Firstly, it is necessary to take a close look at the historical meaning of the experience acquired, draw valuable conclusions from the Leninist practice of leading a multinational country under extremely difficult conditions, and try to interpret them from the standpoint of restructuring. Secondly, [it is necessary] to analyze complex processes under way in the interethnic sphere at the present stage, reveal the causes of the unsolved problems which are inexorably brought up by life, and determine the key directions of further scientific investigations. Finally, [it is necessary] to work out specific constructive proposals for solving the acute practical issues in the sphere of nationality policy.

Under current conditions, the significance of working out a modern concept of renewal of the nationality policy, based on the Marxist-Leninist tradition and taking into account the colossal changes in real life and social practice which have occurred recently, is growing more than ever.

In particular, the problem of internal and interrepublic economic contacts awaits serious consideration. We have to make fundamental and applied research of the issues of state and law more profound. It should make possible specifying the legal foundations for the ethnic-state entities within the framework of the USSR, full and equal rights for representatives of all ethnic groups, ensuring specific interests and rights of citizens based on their affiliation with a particular historical and cultural community. It is absolutely clear that any nation, any people should feel confident on its land. It is also clear that the well-being of the native ethnic group should not be attained at the expense of people of other nationalities who have associated their lives with this land. In this matter, the infringement of rights and freedoms is inadmissible, to say nothing of forcing these people out.

The restoration of Lenin's vision of the federated structure of the state, which is vitally needed in our country with its vast territory and an exceptionally large number of nationalities, merits particular attention. The historic experience of our peoples, economic calculations, and political common sense all speak in favor of this. The task is to use the entire creative potential of Soviet federalism in a truly efficient manner, endow it with real political and economic content, and perfect creatively the state and legal mechanisms for its operation and development.

Society is facing the issues of theory of ethnic cultures in their enormity. The drawbacks of the stereotype formula—culture national in form and socialist in content—are its mechanistic character and the abandonment of the dialectics of content and form. Social scientists should finally state their weighted, scientifically balanced opinion on the ways of creating conditions under which people of any nationality, including those residing outside the confines of their state-territorial entities or those who do not have such an entity, would receive an opportunity for meeting their ethnic-cultural and spiritual needs in the sphere of education, instruction in their native language, folk art, and communication.

The issues of covering the historic past of peoples are now the focus of attention. It is known that history may instill in people the feeling of patriotism and internationalism, and bring peoples closer, but it can also fuel hostility among peoples when interpreted in such a manner.

The accumulation of historic knowledge about every one of the peoples of the USSR, said the speaker, study of their historical traditions, comprehension of ethnic peculiarities in the sphere of folklore, popular art, customs and rituals, propaganda of such knowledge through schools and the mass media—all of this is called upon to be a direct influence on the national self-identification, and to promote the reinforcement of the principles of internationalism in Soviet society.

Editorial mail also suggests that the issues discussed at the "roundtable" are acute.

This is what Associate Professor of the University of Kishinev L. Radek wrote to SOVETSKAYA KULTURA: "Apparently, restructuring caught all of us by surprise. While those doubtful, passive, and skeptical take a wait-and-see attitude, 'determined' people stop at nothing knowing that firing up negative emotions is much easier than proposing and doing something useful and constructive. It is particularly annoying that the statements in newspaper and magazine discussions are finding their inadequate expression in the streets and squares of our city, in public transportation, in lines. Verbal skirmishes threaten to turn into hand-to-hand fighting. The background is the same—you've come from all over, eaten everything up, and taken our apartments!"

What tasks have the participants of the "roundtable"—historians, philosophers, social scientists, ethnographers, students of culture—set for themselves?

To grasp the historical meaning of the accumulated experience. To analyze the most complex processes currently under way. To put forth truly constructive proposals on improving interethnic relations and making them harmonious.

The program of the "roundtable" includes reports by Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet R.N. Nishanov "Perfecting Interethnic Relations—A Significant Factor in Enhancing Restructuring," by Academy Member G.L. Smirnov "Formation of the USSR as the Implementation of Lenin's Concept of the Federation of Free Nations," by Doctor of Philosophy E.A. Bagramov "On Contradictions in the Sphere of Interethnic Relations and the Ways to Solve Them."

Actually, the participants of the meeting work for much of the time in sections. This is exactly where the development of proposals is carried out on the basis of interpreting the historical aspect of specific interethnic conflicts. At issue are also the peoples who do not have an ethnic state unit, and peculiarities of the youth community. Three separate groups are considering interethnic relations with regard to the problems of ecology, religion, and book publishing.

The proceedings of the "roundtable" at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPSU Central Committee are continuing. The search is on for a concept which will replace hollow declarations about monolithic unity. Our reader N. Khosroyeva from the city of Ordzhonikidze is right: "For all these years, we uttered stock phrases from the podium and practiced delusion."

...Coming back after the first day of work, I saw a bulky display with the title "In a Common Family" and appropriate pictorial material right there, next to the institute, at the subway station "Botanical Garden." Indeed, a long period of work is ahead of us in order for life to confirm that such displays are truthful.

This is what Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said so sincerely, with pain and alarm, to all who were prepared to hear it, in his speech on Central TV last Saturday: "I am convinced that answers to all the questions of concern to us should be sought not in the destruction—not in the destruction—of unity, but on the path of a resolute renewal of the federation, so as to sort of give it its second wind, and realize completely and genuinely the principles which Lenin made the foundation of the Union of Soviet Republics."

Bomb Incident on Moscow Subway Reported

18001370 Moscow TRUD in Russian
14 Jul 89 p 4

[Article by V. Gorodetskiy: "Package With a Bomb"]

[Text] **Representatives of the Moscow militia have presented valuable gifts to the foreman of the Lipetsk tracked prime mover plant, Boris Yevgenyevich Zamarayev, and his son Yevgeniy, a vocational technical school student. The order of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs says: "For high awareness of civic duty and assistance to militia employees...."**

In late April the Zamarayevs were visiting Moscow. The subway car was crowded and cramped. To make matters worse, a package of some kind got under the feet of Zamarayev Sr. As soon as the car rocked on the rails again, the package hit him on the feet painfully.

Becoming angry, Zamarayev said: "Whose package is this? Take it." There was no response.

"Look what is inside it. It could be a bomb," joked a woman who was sitting next to him.

Later, Boris Yevgenyevich said: "I don't know what prompted me to do it. However, in Lipetsk we somehow take everything literally."

In a word, Zamarayev opened the heavy package. On the top was an alarm clock and its hands indicated 2055.... There were wires of some kind, a battery, a large metal cylinder. A joke? How much time remained to check it? The watch on Zamarayev's arm showed 2040....

To tell you the truth, the reaction of passengers turned out to be anything but heroic. Having heard about the discovery, they rushed to the far corner of the car. Crowded as it was, the Zamarayevs found themselves in a large empty space. They asked at the very least that the emergency intercom button be pressed and the engineer told. Their frightened fellow passengers did not even do that; they were afraid to come closer to the lethal package.

It is hard to imagine what could have happened next had the next station not been Paveletskaya, the terminal from which the Zamarayevs were departing for Lipetsk. The Zamarayevs got off. The father carried their gear and the son the package with the ticking alarm clock.

They stood close to a column not knowing what to do. Hundreds of people hurried along past them. By now the Zamarayevs did not have the resolve to address anyone as they were afraid of panic. The package sat on the floor....

At that point, they noticed a militiaman on duty at the platform. The three rushed into the guard room and two militia employees unwrapped their find trying to figure out the explosive device. Only then did the Zamarayevs become frightened—much later, when everything was behind them.

This was no joke. Someone's villainous hands had indeed prepared an evil deed, and not just one. A bulletin on the planned act of sabotage sent to all points of subway security made it possible to locate one more explosive device at the "VDNKh [Exhibition of Accomplishments of the National Economy]" station.

The courage of the Zamarayevs made it possible to avert major trouble. A representative of the Moscow militia, Captain V. Svyatoshev, speaking at the auditorium of the plant, said there were 7 kg of explosives in the package.

There are similar inscriptions on the gift watches awarded to the father and the son: "For Civic Courage Displayed in the Subway."

PRAVDA Reports on Gromyko's Funeral

PM0607154389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Jul 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "On His Last Journey. A.A. Gromyko's Funeral"]

[Text] On 5 July, Moscow bade farewell to the country's great politician and statesman—Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, individual union pensioner.

The Central House of the Soviet Army. Here, in the Red Banner Hall, the coffin containing his body was set up on a dais among flowers. Lying on scarlet cushions were the awards marking A.A. Gromyko's many years' in state posts: two "Hammer and Sickle" gold medals of a hero of socialist labor, seven Orders of Lenin, Orders of the Labor Red Banner, a "Badge of Honor," and USSR medals.

There were many wreaths in the hall, including a wreath from the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers.

Members of the government commission to organize the funeral mounted the first mourning vigil. The honor guard included Comrades V.I. Vorotnikov, L.N. Zaykov, Ye.K. Ligachev, N.I. Ryzhkov, N.N. Slyunkov, V.M. Chebrikov, A.P. Biryukova, A.V. Vlasov, A.I. Lukyanov, G.P. Razumovskiy, D.T. Yazov, and O.D. Baklanov.

Then leaders of the Communist Party and the Soviet state expressed profound condolences to A.A. Gromyko's relatives and friends.

Muscovites entered the Red Banner Hall to pay the deceased a tribute of profound respect. Chairmen of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers, deputy chairmen of the USSR Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers, USSR people's deputies, ministers, leaders of party, soviet, and public organizations, and military chiefs also mounted a mourning vigil by the coffin.

Heads of foreign countries' diplomatic missions accredited in the Soviet Union came to revere the deceased's memory.

A mourning meeting was held in Novodevichye Cemetery, where A.A. Gromyko was buried. Opening it, V.I. Vorotnikov, chairman of the government commission, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, said:

A prominent figure in the Communist Party and the Soviet state whose life path was inseparably bound up with concern for the socialist homeland's interests and for strengthening its political might has departed this life.

After noting the main stages in the life and activity of A.A. Gromyko, the speaker emphasized that Andrey Andreyevich was an active participant in the revolutionary perestroyka of Soviet society and the fundamental renewal of socialism. He was noted for lofty human qualities, modesty, and respect for people, which won him recognition and prestige both in our country and in broad circles of the international public.

Working Moscow knew Andrey Andreyevich well, Yu.A. Prokofyev, second secretary of Moscow City Party Committee, said. He frequently visited the capital's enterprises, constantly met with workers and the city's party and soviet aktiv, and enjoyed the respect and liking of Moscow's working people. His profound knowledge, human wisdom, and capacity for work won him prestige with the Moscow city party organization. Muscovites repeatedly elected A.A. Gromyko a delegate to their conferences and party congresses, and he represented the capital on our country's highest organ of state power. His bright image will be preserved forever in the hearts of Muscovites.

USSR First Deputy Foreign Minister A.A. Bessmertnykh spoke about pages in A.A. Gromyko's life connected with Soviet foreign policy and diplomacy. He emphasized that Andrey Andreyevich always sought to promote the development of a modern world in which universal security and economic prosperity accessible to everyone would reign. A very fine analyst who felt well the throb of sometimes still invisible trends, he brilliantly managed anything entrusted by the party and state. The creation of a unique international association—the United Nations Organization—the achievement of the ABM Treaty and agreements on strategic arms, the limitation of tests, and the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, and many other important accords are linked with his name.

During these difficult parting minutes, L.A. Savelyev, turner at the "Gomselmash" Production Association, said, the people of Gomel grieve profoundly and bow low their heads before A.A. Gromyko's bright memory. His childhood and youth were spent in a poor peasant family on Belorussian soil. Until his final days he preserved in his heart love of his motherland and its people. Despite being tremendously busy, he always found an opportunity to listen to his fellow countrymen, showing a genuine interest in their problems and cares, and he sincerely rejoiced at successes, shared the bitterness of failures, and helped with good advice.

The mourning meeting was declared closed. The Soviet Union's anthem was heard. The honor guard company paid its last respects to a loyal son of the party and the Soviet people.

Economic

Mostovoy on Restructuring Economic Management

LD2407202889 Moscow TASS in English 1736 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 24 TASS—In an interview with the newspaper GOVERNMENT HERALD, Pavel Mostovoy, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee on Material and Technical Supply, said that "responsibility for material and technical supplies has been shifted to territorial organs during restructuring of economic management". The interview is published in a special issue of the newspaper which lists the new Soviet cabinet.

"Committees in union republics and territorial organs have been switched over to full cost-accounting and self-financing, that is they have been turned into partners of consumer and producer enterprises," Mostovoy noted.

He said that 142 commercial intermediary centres were set up at republican committees on supplies and in regions. The network of regional workshops to prepare goods for industrial consumption, service centres and renting offices is on the rise. Mostovoy plans to draw more activety researchers into development of advanced waste-free technologies and to use the state orders system for mass production of equipment. His plans also include regular fairs in all Soviet regions, auctions of used and additionally produced goods and materials put out by cooperatives.

The committee chairman pointed to the need for adopting Soviet laws on taxation of enterprises, development of competition and overcoming of monopoly trends, a reform of price formation and reform on finance and credit relations.

Maslyukov Interviewed on Economic Management

LD2407203689 Moscow TASS in English 1848 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 24 TASS—"The new economic system practically deprives the upper echelons of management and first of all the USSR State Planning Committee of the possibility and necessity of the administrative command style of economic management.

"The need for a prompt intervention in the affairs of ministries and union republics is obviated as well," Yuriy Maslyukov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, said in an interview with a correspondent of the GOVERNMENT HERALD.

The interview is published in a special issue of the GOVERNMENT HERALD which introduces the new composition of the Soviet government.

"But instead, the committee will be able to tackle really vital economic problems and enhance its role in the discharge of the main functions of centralised planning: To determine the main priorities and goals of the country's socio-economic development, and to find ways and means to attain them," Maslyukov emphasized.

"Structural, investment, and social policies, scientific and technological progress, continuous refinement of the economic mechanism, and the maintenance of the country's defence potential are the major directions on which the committee's activities will be focused".

From now on, he pointed out, five-year plans will be drawn up from below, at the level of amalgamations, enterprises and organisations. Provision is also made for practically fully renouncing the practice, which took shape over previous five-year plan periods, of sending down directive assignments to ministries and departments of the Soviet Union and to the councils of ministers of the union republics and listing volume indices, which were virtually gross-output ones, and other indicators which limited their economic independence and preclude a rise in production efficiency.

Ryabev Cited on Fuel, Energy Problems

LD2407205789 Moscow TASS in English 1911 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 24 TASS—"Solving energy problems of the USSR as we see it, lies in switching over to intensive economic methods based on resource-and energy-saving", Lev Ryabev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Council of Ministers bureau on fuel and energy complex, said in an interview with a GOVERNMENT HERALD newspaper correspondent. The interview is published in a special issue of the newspaper which lists the members of the new Soviet Government.

Ryabev admits that the USSR has approached a point beyond which it will be purely and simply impossible to meet the national economy's fuel and energy needs on the basis of the extensive approach. "By the year 2000, 80 to 85 per cent of the incremental fuel and energy needs will have to be met through their saving and substituting other energy carriers for organic fuel. The principal role in the process will have to be played by an improved inter- and intra-sectoral economic structure, introduction of energy-saving technologies and advanced equipment and economic management methods", Ryabev said. He also said that saving the energy resources required cutting down on energy consumption by household and industrial appliances, switching over to the use of gas as fuel in transport, increasing the recycling of energy resources. It is necessary to more vigorously replace organic fuels by the energy of hydraulic and nuclear power stations.

Referring to the problems of nuclear power plants, Ryabev said that "the role of nuclear energy in the foreseeable future will, despite the difficulties experienced at present, grow steadily. An objective prerequisite for this is the rising scientific and technical level of nuclear energetics. Besides, oil and gas will be getting more and more costly and it will be more feasible to use them for chemical production".

Ryabev said it was important to concentrate the Soviet scientific potential on the development and introduction of new technologies—laser, high temperature, plasma, impulse and irradiation.

Shortcomings in Current Conversion Effort Noted

18010841 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Jul 89 p 11

[Article by Aleksey Izyumov, Candidate of Economic Sciences, senior research worker in the Institute of the United States and Canada, USSR AN [Academy of Sciences]: "Conversion? Conversion! Conversion...: In the File of the USSR Supreme Soviet."—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] **It was not long ago that few people in our country knew the meaning of the word "conversion." Now something is said and written about Soviet military economics almost every day. In particular, a heated discussion went on at a meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet during the confirmation of Minister of Defense D.T. Yazov. And this is understandable. On the one hand, achievements in our foreign policy for the first time in many years have created, instead of the recurrent pretext for escalating military expenditures, a real possibility for reducing them. On the other hand, there are strictly internal reasons. It is quite natural that, in contemplating ways to get out of an economic crisis, we have started to look at heretofore immune items of the state budget. We began to hear appeals more and more frequently from economists, ecologists, and writers to "trim military expenditures," "to remove unneeded fat from the Armed Forces," and "to review the space program...."**

From the Time of Witte to Our Days

This is not the first time that the country has been faced with the problem of conversion. Back in the 1890-1905 period, at the insistence of Witte, Russia's military expenditures were cut from 30

to 15

of the state budget. In Soviet times, the first major conversion was conducted between 1920-1924. In those years the numerical strength of the Red Army was reduced from 5 million to 562,000 men! By comparison with that 10-fold reduction, today's—by 12 percent—seems quite moderate. But the military and political situation around our country then was much more complicated than today's.

The second conversion episode in Soviet history was the second 5-year plan after the end of the Great Patriotic War. Enterprises and industries that had been mobilized to help the front were returned to normal peacetime production. This conversion was conducted with specific methods peculiar to that time. And indeed, even the Stalinist conversion was not 100 percent successful: It is enough to mention what kinds of problems the hundreds and thousands of soldiers who had not acquired a civilian specialty because of the war, and who frequently were even left without a roof over their head, encountered upon returning from the front.

Many, especially from among those who are retired, will recall our third conversion. It was conducted at the initiative of N.S. Khrushchev at the end of the 1950's and the beginning of the 1960's, and it was expressed mainly in a radical, unilateral reduction of the armed forces—in round figures, more than 2 million persons. What is more, we will note that the Khrushchev reduction was greater than the current one, despite the fact that we were far from parity with the West at that time.

The Khrushchev conversion gave tangible benefits to the people: It helped increase pensions, and it sharply broadened residential construction, and so forth, but it was conducted, like the Stalinist one, exclusively by command methods, without a well thought out plan and the necessary considerations for social features. It is not accidental that our military holds a grudge against Khrushchev up to the present time—many were discharged from the armed forces without warning, sometimes not allowing them to complete even the remaining short service that was needed for a pension.

The current conversion should, it would seem, avoids the mistakes of the past. However, more problems are coming up.

At first glance, everything is going well. The military budget and military production are being cut. Hundreds of military plants and the KB [design bureaus] were assigned civilian production tasks, the armed forces are being cut, freeing manpower that is in short supply, and students are no longer being pulled away from their academic studies. The quantitative parameters of the measures announced are being published. During the years 1990-1991, cutting the military budget by 14 percent, or by R10 billion is contemplated, and in total for the current 5-year plan the savings will be R30 billion. While now the share of military expenditures in our gross national product is about 9 percent, then in 1995 it should be reduced by a factor of 1.5 to 2. At the same time, the portion of civilian production of our military enterprises, which now constitutes about 40 percent, should increase to 60 percent by 1995. The contribution of the defense industry to the output of cultural and everyday commodities will increase from today's 22 percent to 33 percent by the end of the current 5-year plan. A big return is expected from the "military" cosmos, in particular, in the area of installing telephone systems in the country.

A lot is already being done. The production of metalworking machines, drilling equipment, and electronic components has been arranged for several plants that produced medium range missiles. SS-20 transporters are being successfully reequipped as powerful cranes in a joint Soviet-West German enterprise in Odessa. Our VVS [Air Forces] are being linked up with civilian transportation—this year military transport aviation will carry 50,000 tons of domestic cargo. Moreover, an idea was brought up in scientific circles to organize a new passenger airline with forces of the VVS. This would not only give work to hundreds of military pilots and technical specialists who have been discharged in connection with recent reductions, but it would also finally break the oppressive monopoly of Aeroflot.

Among other measures of the current conversion is the sale of Army property, conducted by organizations of rear services supply. In the first stage of these sales to civilian users, equipment, and materiel amounting to a half billion rubles will be sold, including 20,000 motor vehicles, small boats, radio equipment, and petroleum oils and lubricants. The benefits are tremendous—you see, not only is demand satisfied, but there is also an opportunity to help with the budget deficit.

Costs of the Approach

Given the abundance of planning departments, there is still no conversion concept or program. True, the press has repeatedly announced that work on the composition of a national conversion program was apparently started. Working groups for conversion planning were set up in the CPSU Central Committee, the Ministry of Defense, the MFA [Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Gosplan [USSR State Planning Committee], and a number of other ministries and departments. However, neither the character of the work of these groups, nor their composition, nor any kind of plans or recommendations have yet to become the property of the public. Nor was anything said about them at the congress. It has to be assumed that the work is in the preliminary stage.

Meanwhile, in the absence of well-thought-out plans, conversion, nonetheless, is going on, but spontaneously. Its tasks for many, if not for a majority, of the enterprises of the military industry, were a complete surprise. A number of military orders were cancelled in from one to two quarters, that is, practically without warning. This placed the managers of defense production in very serious difficulties. It is known that the readjustment alone of the production for the output of items of average complexity (let us say, refrigerators) requires a year or two, but you have to find new clients, raw material suppliers and components, and retrain the work force, etc.! The difficulties became even greater, because the directive announcements of the conversion coincided in time with the shift of "post office boxes" to cost accounting and self-financing. There have been many times in our history when the economic consequences of an important political decision were not thought out in a timely way. We have made a "cavalier attack" on a serious problem many times.

The present mass reduction in military purchase orders is being conducted frequently not only without forthought, but according to the principle—reduce and that is all it takes. In order not to offend especially influential military clients, financing and funds are being cut approximately equally. This approach exacerbates the problem of the producers even more, and especially the developers of military equipment, inasmuch as now the same programs will have to be fulfilled with a smaller financing total. It is clear that this means either an over-exertion of effort, or a lowering of the quality of a product.

It would be logical in this situation to take a different approach—drop a part of the existing military programs, and concentrate forces on the most important ones. Our military should finally realize that the budget is not a bottomless barrel, and conduct a thorough—and preferably an open—inventory of its economic household. A lot will be found in it that can be sacrificed without damage to defense capabilities.

The absence of a clear plan of conversion also affects its technical aspects. Of course, it is pleasing when a military plant shifts to civilian production. However, when, after missiles and aircraft, it begins to produce baby carriages or machines for bottling milk, you begin to think—is the advanced technology and the select work force concentrated there being utilized in the best way? Our military enterprises were isolated enclaves of the economy for so long that they cannot now painlessly get used to peaceful production. Practically all of the announced cases of conversion take place inside the ministries of the defense complex, without moving the enterprises to the jurisdiction of civilian organs of authority. Moreover, a reverse phenomenon is developing—poorly operating civilian enterprises are being placed under the wing of military-industrial ministries. This is what happened with some enterprises of the former Minlegpishchemash [Ministry of Machine Building for the Light and Food Industry and Household Products] which was transferred with all of its property and work force to the jurisdiction of the USSR Ministry of Medium Machine Building.

Actually, our military industry surpasses by many times the civilian sector in equipment, qualification of workers, and production and technical discipline. But the capabilities of the military enterprises should not be overestimated. It should not be forgotten that civilian production will never have a priority in enterprises that remain within the framework of the military complex. Today, for example, almost all refrigerators, an overwhelming portion [of the production] of television sets, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, and certain other types of everyday equipment are produced in military plants. However, can we say that the quality of these commodities satisfies us?

A special question is the cost of production and the prices of products of converted enterprises. If in the attainment of military objectives, costs are not that important, the main thing here is the highest end result, then for civilian production this principle is not suitable. The ordinary consumer will simply not be able to purchase very expensive products, unlike the Ministry of Defense. Civilian production in military plants will inevitably bear the mark of expensive planning and technology which inevitably will be reflected in prices.

There is another important point—supply. Today these military plants have absolute priority, everything that is the best and in short supply goes to them first and foremost. To the extent that the portion of civilian production at the enterprise is increased, the level of priority in supplies will decrease, and together with it the capability of the enterprise to produce more quality products as well. After encountering the usual problems of their civilian colleagues (obsolete equipment, difficulties with supplies, the lack of discipline of parts producers, etc.), the defense employees soon lose their current qualities little by little. It appears the same will happen with technological and labor discipline—a weakening of routine restrictions will quickly bring them down to the "normal" level.

So it does not pay to set one's hopes on the fact that military industry will lead our consumer sector out of the breakthrough. Here apparently, one can count only on short-term improvement. And if the conversion is not buttressed by the development of competition, a shift to wholesale trade, price reform, and other steps of economic reform, if converted enterprises are not included together with the rest in a real fight for the consumer, they will be deprived of their current advantages and will simply be dissolved into the general mass.

To avoid this, the converted enterprises, in terms of the development of economic reform, should be removed from the defense complex (through their sale to other enterprises and associations, leasing to worker collectives, local organs of authority, etc.) and acquire independence. Otherwise, in the near future, belonging to a defense complex will be turned from a virtue to a drawback. The experience of military-industrial complexes in the West says that exactly this will happen. Numerous studies attest to the fact that, according to all indices, the efficiency (productivity of labor, return on investment, material capacity) of military enterprises is significantly inferior to their civilian colleagues.

Is It a Boon to All?

A second dangerous shortcoming of the current conversion is the failure to consider its social factors. The impression is created that today the government does not pay any more attention to this than was the case in Khrushchev's time. There is no denying that the objectives of the conversion are noble, and that the benefits from them for the country should be significant. However, did anyone think about how those whose interests are affected first and foremost—the workers and engineers of military enterprises, their managers, the reduced personnel of ministries and departments, the officers discharged into the reserve—would treat conversion? No sociological polls were conducted on this subject; however, even without them it is clear that there can be no rejoicing regarding conversion among these categories of our population.

It is true that a demarcation has to be made here. For the interests of the ordinary workers, ITRs [engineer-technical workers], and scientific employees of the military enterprises, conversion does not constitute a particular threat. Practically all the advantages in pay, social privileges, and so forth, which they had 10-15 years ago, have, in effect, gone for naught. The average level of pay at Moscow defense plants related to machine building is now practically equal to the average level of this branch of industry on the whole, that is, approximately 230 rubles per month. At the same time, the negative aspects of work in the VPK [military industrial complex]—the system of secrecy, strict discipline, and tough control over product quality—have been retained. As a result, the military sector of the economy lost its former attraction for the aforementioned categories of workers, a majority of whom, without any particular regrets, will agree to a transfer of their enterprises to civilian production.

The attitude of military personnel toward conversion is somewhat more complicated. On the one hand, managers of enterprises and departments of our defense industry also suffer, of course, from the strictness of military production, and in this sense the situation of their civilian colleagues is significantly calmer. However, on the other hand, not one civilian industry has such privileges in supply and financing as do VPK industries. The priority of defense industries not only assures them much more favorable conditions of work, but also raises the prestige of their managers, affects the level of personal privileges and the number and importance of state awards that are granted, etc. Inasmuch as conversion denotes the deprivation of the aforementioned advantages, than it can be expected that it will evoke a definite negative reaction among VPK workers.

One more important social aspect of the conversion is the attitude of the military toward it. A reduction in the armed forces, those already announced and still to be announced, in my view, did not delight Soviet officers. And this is not surprising. The memory of the excesses of the Khrushchev demobilization is still fresh.

According to the announced reduction for 1989-1990, about 100,000 officer personnel will be discharged into the reserve, and also a part of the warrant officers and petty officers. Meanwhile, an organ has not yet been set up which would be engaged systematically in the retraining and job placement of former servicemen in a civilian life that is unfamiliar to them.

Of course, the Ministry of Defense and the Goskomtrud [State Committee for Labor and Social Problems] are doing something along this line, and plans are even being made for the creation of special commissions under the ispolkoms [executive committees] for furnishing assistance to servicemen and their families, however, just so that these measures are not late. Experience shows that by far even highly qualified military specialists cannot always find work in their specialty. An example of this is the situation with military engineers who served on nuclear-powered ships in the VMF [Navy]. Their discipline and experience would be entirely suitable for our nuclear power engineering, but for the time being the path to a new position is frequently closed for nuclear specialist officers because of departmental separateness.

Housing is the most serious problem for those discharged into the reserve. If even before the current cuts we had about 20,000 officer families without a roof over their head (7,000 in Moscow alone), then you can imagine what can happen when those who are discharged pour into the civilian economy! According to estimates, this is another 40-45,000 families, of which the Ministry of Defense will be able to provide apartments for 7,500 thousand families in 2 years.

It can be assumed that the outlook for the reduction in the numerical strength of their subordinates does not make some members of the senior military leadership happy either. We will recall that a half year ago some representatives of the Ministry of Defense chastised scientists who expressed the idea on the pages of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA concerning the unreasonableness of a general callup of students of VUZ's [higher educational institutions] into the armed forces. Now this seditious thought has become common; however, could the views of the former opponents have changed so quickly?

A Law Is Needed

Speaking to the point, we are faced with three questions: What should be produced with the resources made available? Who should be involved in planning for and implementing the conversion? What should be the economic, political, and legal mechanism for retraining?

Speaking about the first question, the shift of part of the resources of defense industry, which was announced with fanfare, to patch up holes in the collapsed agricultural industry does not seem to me to be an optimal solution. Even greater concern is evoked by the proposal to utilize resources from the reduction of defense expenditures on such projects as a Soviet-American flight to Mars, or the construction of a bridge between Chukotsk and Alaska.

The Americans approach the question of national priorities in the use of resources that the economy can give for the arms race very seriously. In May of this year at an international conference in Bologna (Italy), the American national commission on disarmament and conversion submitted a document "The Budget Is the Salvation of America" which scrupulously mentions all of the most acute socioeconomic problems of the United States, the "price" of their resolution, and the potential sources for covering the corresponding expenditures at the expense of items in the military budget.

Why should we not compile such a list, let us say, for those R10 billion by which our budget will be cut in the coming 2 years? It goes without saying that our list will be much longer than the American list. The desperate crisis in our health services and social security and food supplies, the very difficult situation in ecology, the provision of housing, and the area of education—these are our priorities today. Flights to Mars can wait until better times.

So that the distribution of resources occurs in accordance with the needs of the country, it is necessary to resolve these questions openly, with the participation of all of the people. Successful implementation of conversion is possible only under conditions of cooperation of all interested forces—the higher political and military leadership, the Supreme Soviet, the local organs of authority, worker collectives of enterprises of the defense complex, and, of course, the general public.

For the time being, only organs of executive authority are engaged in planning the conversion, and it is in this that there is a fundamental difference in our approach from the situation in countries in the West. There, the government shuns practical participation in the conversion, but a lot is done by social organizations, trade unions, and local organs of authority.

Our situation looks rather strange against this background: At a time when the government is making one important decision after another on conversion, the trade unions and local organs of authority, whose interests conversion affects in a very direct way, remain silent. The structures for public control over its progress are being established extremely slowly. (I know of only two small groups of conversion "activists," one of which functions in the staff of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, and the other, in the USSR Academy of Sciences. The status of these groups can be judged if only because they are not permitted into defense enterprises that are being converted.)

The chief defect of the current conversion mechanism is the lack of legislative support.

It is patently clear that neither the trade unions, the local authorities, or the legislators will be able to break up the monopoly in conversion possessed by defense agencies until a wide range of information on the VPK is made public.

While some progress has been noted in military and space openness, data on the VPK situation has changed very little. As previously, nothing is known about the number of those engaged in military production (the American specialist S. Melman puts it at 4-7 million persons against 3.5 million in the United States), their geographic distribution, and the technical capabilities of individual enterprises and their production performance. The irony is that a majority of our military-economic secrets do not have a practical significance, either, because with modern surveillance techniques it is not possible to conceal them, or because they "conceal" that which in the West has long been yesterday's science and technology.

In other countries, much broader data on military economics is published and, as a rule, special laws exist in this respect. In the United States, any military contract costing more than $5 million is made public. There is voluminous literature in the West that encompasses literally everything, right down to the legal and ideological aspects of the VPK. Owing to this, the most delicate problems of conversion are discussed freely there in the mass media, and anyone who wishes to can get a complete picture about it.

Without a revision of our atitude toward glasnost in the military and military-economic sphere, we will not be able to implement conversion efficiently. Representatives of the VPK received an overwhelming majority on the staff of the Committee on Questions of Defense and State Security that was formed. Meetings of the committee will be closed to the press. I am convinced that in the Fall the Congress of People's Deputies will have to consider the question of the composition and work routine of the committee. Otherwise it can hardly perform the functions of national controller of the VPK.

In its completed form, the USSR national program for conversion should include plans for re-profiling military production and retraining the work forces of military enterprises and personnel staffs of demobilized military units. It should be a law that is tied together in an industrial, financial, and territorial relationship, and coordinated with measures for cutting military expenditures, the Armed Forces, and armaments.

The following steps are needed for the preparation of such a program.

1. Creation of a special commission on conversion in the new USSR Supreme Soviet (or an appropriate subcommission on the staff of the Committee on Questions of Defense and State Security). The main task of this commission should be to work up a law on planning conversion, defining the duties of military, economic, and Soviet organs for planning, financing, and implementing conversion.

2. Creation in the USSR of a state commission on conversion headed by a member of the Politburo and whose membership would include representatives of the VPK, Gosplan, Ministry of Defense, MFA, and the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions], and other interested ministries and departments. This commission should become the main planning and coordinating center for the preparation of the national plan of conversion.

3. For the success of the practical preparation of conversion plans, it is necessary to establish appropriate conversion commissions or committees at all enterprises of the military industry and at local organs of authority in those regions where there are military enterprises and units.

These committees should have worker, engineer, economic, soviet, and military managers who should have all the necessary information and documentation for the preparation of conversion plans.

Along with re-profiling military enterprises and bases, one of the forms of their conversion could be their sale, with the participation of civilian enterprises and local soviets.

4. Acceleration of the declassification of data on our military economics. The organization of an objective-oriented program of scientific research for the practical preparation of conversion, including the creation of a national program "Conversion-2000."

5. Explanation and widespread propaganda of the ideas and principles of conversion in the Soviet armed forces, military-industrial complex, and among the population. With this purpose in mind, it makes sense to organize, parallel with the state and parliamentary commissions, a public commission on conversion, which would have representatives from the USSR Academy of Sciences, SKZM [Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace], the "Znaniye" society, the press, the Council of War Veterans, etc.

And lastly. I will repeat once more that, with all of the importance of the conversion as a source of additional resources for our economy, it should not be counted on as a panacea. If conversion is conducted skillfully and effectively, it, of course, will help us get out of the crisis, but the long-term resolution lies on the path of radical economic reform. Without it, sooner or later we will "eat up" our military billions in the same way that we "ate up" our oil billions earlier.

Military

Lizichev Addresses Army Political Gathering

PM2507080489 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Jul 89 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed account of Lizichev speech at 11-13 July 1989 gathering of chiefs of divisions' political sections at Moscow M.V. Frunze Central House of the Soviet Army: "Mastering Political Methods of Leadership"; the following provides the text of Lizichev's speech omitted from the item entitled "Yazov Addresses Army Political Workers Gathering," published on page 112 of the 24 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT]

[Excerpt] As already reported, a gathering of chiefs of divisions' political sections was held 11-13 July in Moscow City at the M.V. Frunze Central House of the Soviet

Army. It was opened by Army General D. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister. A report entitled "Primary Political Organs: Experience and Paths for the Further Restructuring of the Style and Methods of Their Work as Organs of Political Leadership" was delivered by Army General A. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

After providing a detailed description of the period our country is living through, the main speaker emphasized that the party, as the initiator of perestroyka, has suggested to society a vigorous and, at the same time, balanced and realistic program for the renewal of the political, economic, social, and defense spheres of our life. It reflects the principled guidelines of the April (1985) and subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, the 27th Party Congress, and the 19th All-Union Party Conference. This program received the support of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the country's working people. Even though criticisms of the party were heard at the Congress, one thing is clear: The CPSU serves the people and is responsible for formulating policy, and so it cannot be outside the people's criticism and assessments.

At the same time the report stated that the Congress confirmed the conclusion of the CPSU Central Committee April (1989) Plenum that the party sometimes lags behind the processes occurring in society. And if we want to continue fulfilling the mission of the political vanguard—and society needs such a vanguard force—we Communists and our party must restructure ourselves more quickly than society as a whole. The chief task of this gathering is to determine ways to fulfill this task.

Army General A. Lizichev went on to make a specific analysis of the activity of primary political organs in this area.

It was pointed out that many political organs act in a militant, modern way. This can be said, in particular, of the political sections headed by Officers A. Selyunin, V. Pavlov, V. Kozlov, and others. Here there is much that is instructive and useful in political and party work practice. And this experience is founded on the desire to master political methods of leadership.

The speaker revealed the substance of this capacious concept. Political methods of leadership are the sum total of the political modes and means used for the purpose of implementing party policy. They are methods addressed to the person, his consciousness, and his inner motives of conduct and action.

In a generalized plane, the report pointed out, methods of political leadership presuppose, in our view, the following areas for Army and Navy political organs.

First. The shaping of socialist consciousness in Army and Navy personnel and the organization of servicemen's ideological and political education by means of its profound individualization.

Second. The ability of political organs to organize the fulfillment of the party's decisions and the implementation of its military policy not through command-and-administer pressure but through Communists in the sectors entrusted to them.

Third. Enhancing the role of primary party organizations as the political nucleus of military collectives in resolving the tasks facing units and ships; ensuring the vanguard role of communists.

Fourth. The political section's strong link with the masses of servicemen and the improvement of party leadership of the All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League [Komsomol] and other public organizations through communists working in these organizations.

Fifth. The consistent implementation of cadre policy and the training of officer cadres in the spirit of responsibility to the party and the people for the assigned task.

Sixth. Democratization of the work of political organs themselves. The constant improvement of party information and study of political sentiments as an important instrument of political leadership and influence on the state of affairs.

The report stated that it is a question of mastering style and methods underpinned not by the force of power but by the force of authority, the force of one's own example, and the force of persuasion—style and methods which make it possible to enhance the activeness of all categories of servicemen and to rely on their energy, abilities, and creative initiative.

The speaker emphasized that this is of special significance for the primary political organ, because it is here that party policy is transformed into practical deeds and that the living link with people is realized. Moreover, many political organs are turning slowly and indecisively to political methods of leadership and have not realized that we have to work in a totally new situation today. A definite crisis of the work forms and methods of political organs and party committees and bureaus has been revealed. The most typical shortcomings are isolation from people, overcentralization, the habit of ideological complacency [komfortnost], and the frequent boiling down of all functions to just one—that of issuing leading instructions.

The assertion of political methods of leadership must start with a serious shift toward ideological work. Perestroyka and life itself demand this. The speaker pointed out that the ideological situation is changing drastically.

The speaker bluntly stated: Many political organs have not taken account of the whole acuteness and speed of the politicization of the people and of Army and Navy personnel. Nor has the fact that a new person has entered the Army today been taken into account. New in the sense that he has already passed through a real school of democratization and become less fettered and more socially active. On the other hand, negative trends have also intensified. Army General A. Lizichev cited these figures. As an analysis of the spring draft testifies, up to 25 percent of draftees had been taken into militia custody, 6.5 percent had convictions, 9.4 percent are without one parent, 2.1 percent are without both parents, and many were acquainted with alcohol and drugs. The intellectual standard of draftees has also fallen, as the drafting of students was abolished this spring.

And unprecedented criticism of the Army by the mass media? This is a complex question, the speaker said. We are not against fair, honest criticism. We are against tendentious, farfetched, incompetent criticism, for it has an adverse effect on the education of personnel and young civilians, undermines the prestige of military service, and gives rise to pacifist sentiments.

Therefore it is particularly important for all political organs to emphasize the mobilization of everything positive—experience, knowledge, reason, conscience, good sense, and the ability to do something specific. Without, of course, contrasting the positive and the critical. We need both. For criticism is the feedback without which any social mechanism grows numb. Only it must not be spiteful but constructive and healing.

Summing up the general shortcomings characteristic of ideological work, the speaker pointed out that individual political organs are still acting in the old way: coercion instead of persuasion, calls and shouts instead of proof, dogmatism instead of profound study of sociopolitical processes in units and on board ships. A certain weakening of interest in Marxist-Leninist theory and a lack of attention to the organization of political studies and work with propaganda cadres on the part of political organs were pointed out. Statistics attest, for example, that, in all, approximately 12 percent of staff propagandists graduated from the V.I. Lenin Military Political Academy, whereas party organizational work has gathered 6-7 times more such people.

In some places ideological work has begun losing its political, class thrust. Examples of unjustified "political delicacy" were cited. Seeking not to offend or irritate anyone, ideological workers frequently ignore many negative phenomena of political life, including extremist attacks on the party and the Army. But it is necessary to struggle and seize back the initiative.

The main work must be developed in primary party organizations. It is impermissible for us to have agitators who agitate no one, "honorary" members of agitprop collectives and groups, nonworking councils of Lenin rooms, clubs, and libraries, or Communists who pose as detached observers.

We must organize in a new way work on rallying our multinational military collectives, the speaker pointed out. We must investigate why and how nationalist manifestations occur in the Army milieu and elaborate an effective mechanism of interethnic education. It is particularly important here to adhere strictly to the principle of an equal and even approach to servicemen of different nationalities and to have a clear-cut program for overcoming nonregulation relations and other negative phenomena on ethnic grounds.

The chief thing here is not to delay and to work at an increasing rate. When speaking of the priority of ideological work, the speaker said on addressing the participants in the gathering, I would not like you to view this question in an unequivocal and straightforward way. Ideological work not backed up by organizational work is virtually fruitless, and a political organ's organizational activity without ideological backup is blind.

Army General A. Lizichev went on to analyze the activity of political organs in strengthening military discipline. We have managed to halt the growth in misdemeanors and crimes, he pointed out. The process of their steady diminution is strengthening. It has become stable in a number of places. However, a number of the CPSU Central Committee's specific demands on this question have not been fulfilled. And it should be admitted here that a qualitative spurt has not been made. Tension has not yet been removed from the state of discipline. During the first half of this year the indicators even deteriorated in the Southern Group of Forces, the Urals and Siberian Military Districts, and the Pacific Fleet, for example.

It is a matter of concern that the work methods which hitherto had been producing an improvement have exhausted themselves. A regrouping of forces and a real readjustment of the entire mechanism of our influence on this central sector of combat readiness are needed.

Instances of rudeness, boorishness, and a scornful attitude toward subordinates are particularly intolerable. We must be up in arms against modern Derzhimordas [Derzhimorda was a loutish policeman in Gogol's play "The Government Inspector"] and make a party-minded assessment of every instance of rudeness and arbitrariness.

The situation that has taken shape with regard to discipline requires every political organ to develop and assimilate innovative forms and methods of activity in the full sense. In our view, the speaker pointed out, we must proceed from three determining positions.

First, it is necessary to intensify preventive work. Not wait for new extraordinary occurrences but prevent them by rallying all forces around the political organ—commanders and political workers, communists and Komsomol members, military jurists and the public.

Second, to take the consistent course of individualizing all educational work. This is the basis of the officer's spiritual link with the soldier.

Third, indefatigably to enhance the culture of the chief's relations with subordinates. Uniform exactingness, tact, sensitivity, fairness, and strict legality must not be permitted to be in short supply in these relations.

The report pointed out that in the interests of strengthening organization and order more active use should be made of the processes of democratizing Army and Navy life. Here the officers' meetings, which are being revived, and the wider involvement of servicemen's parents, the public, and local soviet deputies in educational work can bring about a strong improvement. For this it is necessary to make our military camps and garrisons more open. In turn servicemen should be more actively involved in the political life of the regions where they are stationed. Great opportunities for this will be opened up during the preparations for the local soviet elections. Political organs must have a clear-cut action program here. Account must be taken of the experience, of the pluses and minuses of the past campaign to elect USSR people's deputies.

Speaking of the ability of political organs constantly to keep the organization of the execution of party decisions in their field of vision, Army General A. Lizichev cited a specific example. Thanks to a well thought-out system of organizational measures and a well-defined program, the political section headed by Officer V. Apolozov has managed to substantially increase the contribution of every communist to perestroyka and to create in party collectives an atmosphere of questing, innovation, and high responsibility. And it is to the political organ's direct credit that for more than 1 year now the formation has occupied leading positions in the Missile Forces.

However, the speaker said, we see in life that independent, militant political sections coexist alongside ones where things are confined to transmission functions. They receive a guideline and pass it on along the chain, not giving a damn about everything else. The report severely criticized such shortcomings as red tape, inefficiency, and the inability to rally people around yourself and to organize things.

A considerable part of the report was devoted to questions connected with enhancing the role of primary party organizations as the political nucleus of military collectives. There are definite gains here. The practice of personally assessing every Communist's contribution to perestroyka has become the norm for many primary organizations. Reports by Communist leaders are being heard increasingly widely. The ratification of party character profiles has become a good lever for enhancing the activeness of party members. Life shows that there are more of these gains where political organs give real leadership to primary organizations.

However, the speaker pointed out, certain political organs have still not gotten through to primary organizations, continue to lead them on paper or by telephone, and have erected a solid barrier of misunderstanding between themselves and the organizations' problems. Here it is particularly important to learn to work for the immediate and the long term—we must not live for 1 day and swim with the tide. And here the political organ cannot act only as an omniscient prohibitive organ. It must initiate the resolution of the problem of "unclaimed rights" on the part of primary organizations.

The problems of emerging from the crisis of forms and methods of party work were raised acutely. A purge of formalism and dogmatism, political approaches and flexibility of tactics, the clear-cut delimitation of the functions of political sections, elected party organs and commanders, staffs, and rear services—these are ways to overcome stagnation phenomena. The chief thing today is to ensure genuine political, ideological, and moral leadership of every political organ and every primary organization. We are obliged to enhance the political worker's prestige and fully revive commissar traditions. Let us consult one another as to how to do this, the speaker said, addressing those present.

We are greatly alarmed, Army General A. Lizichev said, at the declining prestige of certain party organizations and at facts which attest that perestroyka in the activities of a number of political organs is not following on the rapid buildup and deepening of the processes of democratization and glasnost. Problems of strengthening party discipline, of the struggle for the party member's pure and honest image, the preparation and education of the young generation, and many others were examined in detail.

It was pointed out that a constant living link with people and with the masses of servicemen and the improvement of party influence on the activities of public organizations and institutions through the Communists working in them constitute the core of political leadership. How to ensure this link and create a modern democratic mechanism of cooperation with public organizations, primarily with trade unions and the Komsomol—the report devoted considerable attention to these questions.

The speaker noted as a positive phenomenon the fact that political organs, relying on party organizations, are increasingly encroaching upon the processes of selecting, placing, and training cadres. It is now necessary to revise the criteria for assessing cadres and to seek and promote to leading posts exceptional individuals. Here a reasonable risk is valid and permissible. And it is time to stop revolving around the selfsame figures when seeking candidates for these posts and to make way for young, vigorous people, even though they do not yet possess great experience. The "blocking" of those who have a prickly character and their own opinion must not be allowed. Of course, it is not a question of demagogues and bawlers who fear personal responsibility for things just as the devil fears incense. It is a question of those who are wholeheartedly concerned for the fate of perestroyka.

To conclude the report, Army General A. Lizichev dwelt on problems of broadening democratic principles in the activities of the political sections themselves. Here the emphases were placed on the acute need to widen the circle of the party aktiv, better present information from below and from above, and bring training of the apparatus of political sections—both collective and independent training—up to a new qualitative level.

The discussion of the report developed into a broad and businesslike debate on what is most urgent. It is difficult even to outline the range of the problems, which were raised in a sharp and principled manner. This may be shown, for example, by the following figures: One in five of the participants in the gathering spoke, and 89 formal [postanovochnyy] questions and proposals were adopted for examination by the USSR Ministry of Defense, the Main Political Directorate, and the political directorates of the branches of the Armed Forces.

There was an acute discussion of the extremist attacks on political organs, whose frequency has increased recently, and of the groundless claims that they have exhausted themselves and ceased to be active champions of party policy in the Armed Forces. Such statements are irresponsible, to say the least, as Lieutenant Colonel V. Pavlov put it. This is the opinion, he said, of hundreds of communists in our formation and of many nonparty people. They believe that there is and can be no alternative to political organs in the Army and Navy today. It is another matter that there is still a lot of routine and many obsolete methods in the activities of political sections and that laggardness behind the perestroyka processes is still acutely felt. The interests of combat readiness and of achieving new qualitative parameters in defense building demand not the discrediting of political organs but, on the contrary, their strengthening and the improvement of their work.

The discussion of the report proceeded in just this direction. Many people, for example, were interested in the experience gained by the political section headed by Colonel V. Zimin. The organization of combat training is being reformed in this formation's units. Like any breakthrough, it is proceeding with difficulty, and there are painful aspects. Through the primary party organizations, through Communists, the political section has managed to rally people around the new matter and to mobilize them to overcome the difficulties.

How to lessen tension in the social sphere in our military camps and garrisons? What steps can be taken even today to improve the system of selecting, training, and placing political cadres? What must political organs do to ensure fairness and strict legality in resolving the problems connected with reducing the Armed Forces? These and many other questions were raised sharply, and there was impartial criticism of higher organs. [passage omitted]

Military Helicopter Crashes in Maritime Territory

LD2407150989 Moscow TASS in English 1458 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Vladivostok July 24 TASS—A Soviet military helicopter has crashed on the outskirts of the territorial centre of Primorye (Maritime territory).

It flew at a low altitude over a motor road. At a distance of three kilometres from Okeanskaya station, the helicopter suddenly began to lose altitude and fell on the road, hitting a passing car.

Five members of the crew as well as four people in the car were killed.

A commission has been set up to find out the causes of the accident.

Nuclear Submarine Accident Repairs Reported

18010900 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Jul 89 First Edition p 2

[Report by Captain 1st Rank P. Ishchenko: "The Submarine. The Reactor is Shut Down"]

[Text] Northern Fleet—Technical work continues on the submarine on which the primary circuit of the nuclear reactor was ruptured [razgermetizatsiya]. The reactor was shut down by periodic flooding [prolivka]—four times a day.

"This was associated with the fact that when at sea the reactor was operating at high power loads and it took quite a long time to shut it down," explained Captain 1st Rank Yu. Magakov, one of the leaders of the technical section.

The personnel of this submarine undergoing the mandatory medical examination have all been discharged from the hospital, to the last man. No deviations from the norm were found in the state of health of the submariners. The crew is taking planned leave in one of the military sanatoria.

At the submariners' garrison for the first time since the submarine returned to base with the broken-down reactor alarming rumors have been spreading about the possibility of radioactive contamination of the environment. Many of the inhabitants are interested in knowing whether they should send their children away. But there are no grounds at all for the rumors. The garrison command has three times gathered together the inhabitants of the settlement to explain the situation to them, and medical and other experts have addressed them. Special reports have been broadcast over the local radio station. It has been announced that anyone who has any doubts should go to the polyclinic for an examination. A total of 86 persons have done so. Their misgivings about possible radioactive irradiation proved unfounded in all cases.

"People have been convinced that there is no danger," says the acting chief of the formation's political directorate Captain 1st Rank M. Yachmenev. "And the best proof of this is the large puffball mushroom found the other day. It had grown on a mound not 200 meters from the pier where the submarine was berthed. As is known, puffballs are very sensitive to radioactivity. And the most fastidious analysis showed that the mushroom is absolutely pure.

Liquefied Gas-Fueled TU-155 Demonstrated

18290228 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 15 Jul 89 p 4

[Interview with aircraft designer V. Andreyev by correspondent I. Akkuratov: "The Aircraft of the Future"; date and place not given]

[Text] **Demonstration flights of the TU-155 aircraft started yesterday at Sheremetyevo Airport. Instead of kerosene the fuel tanks are filled with compressed gas. The designer of the experimental aircraft V. Andreyev answers our correspondent's questions.**

[Akkuratov] Vladimir Aleksandrovich, we are no longer surprised at cars using compressed gas instead of gasoline, or the attempts to run them on hydrogen. However, when the TU-155 became airborne with one of its engines using a cryogenic fuel, the report of this flew around the world. And suddenly—methane. Is this not a step backward?

[Andreyev] Not at all. Our hydrogen-powered aircraft was airborne for 21 minutes on its first flight, and then its duration was increased to 2 hours—it can fly from Leningrad to Moscow. And this is significant. In American tests with a similar engine it has run only for a few minutes. Nevertheless, regular flights using hydrogen will not soon happen for a whole series of reasons. But aircraft flying on an alternative fuel will be needed in the near future; the shortage of aviation fuel in the country is a major problem.

[Akkuratov] And then the Tupolev Special Design Bureau switched from the hydrogen-fueled aircraft to a methane-fueled one?

[Andreyev] No, we have not abandoned the hydrogen-fueled aircraft. This is the idea: to develop an aircraft that operates equally well on several kinds of fuel. For a start, for example, on kerosene and compressed gas. This will make it possible to use the aircraft flexibly and refuel it with methane where there are large quantities of it, for example, in Siberia. It is convenient and also economically advantageous. In the very near future we plan to produce several such aircraft based on the TU-154.

[Akkuratov] The experimental aircraft has already flown several times using cryogenic fuel. What is the purpose of today's flights?

[Andreyev] Today we want to show that the TU-155 can fly not only from airports where there is special equipment for refueling with compressed gas, but also from ordinary airfields. At those airfields the aircraft will be refueled from a truck carrying low-temperature methane.

[Akkuratov] But let us nevertheless return to hydrogen, an ecologically clean fuel. But how do we handle the danger of explosion from hydrogen?

[Andreyev] We have had to deal with this by fairly well sealing the units. Many units have been located inside the tank, where the temperature is minus 253 degrees. This has made it possible to solve several problems immediately. The liquid hydrogen has become a unique heat insulation device and the walls of the tank are a sealed protection. The entire installation is located in a separate isolated compartment. In addition there are numerous systems that monitor safety; they monitor the gaseous medium and the operation of the power plants and they include ventilation and automatic fire suppression devices. Provision has also been made for a special device that dumps the hydrogen if it is in a state other than "nominal."

In short, to embody the idea of a hydrogen-fueled aircraft in metal has turned out to be far from simple; it has taken 10 years to develop the design. The most unexpected problems have arisen. Where to locate the fuel tanks? They are four times bigger than usual. How to make the ducting that contracts before your very eyes when you pump liquid hydrogen down it?

[Akkuratov] Today it has already been possible to solve many of the problems. But how do you see the "gas" aircraft of the future?

[Andreyev] There are many versions. Because of the large volume occupied by the fuel the tanks will probably be located not internally but externally. Perhaps on the wing or beneath the wing, or on or below the fuselage. There are ideas for a tripled-hulled aircraft. The tanks with the hydrogen or methane will be located on the outside and the passengers and freight will be in the center. One way or another aircraft using gas fuels will be appearing in the near future.